The New REPUBLIC

A Journal of Opinion

VOLUME XVIII | New York, Saturday, February 8, 1919 | Number 223

Contents

Editorial Notes 34
Leading Editorials
American Policy in Russia 37
Colonial Trusteeship 39
How They Do Things in Canada 41
General Articles
The Senate is Sick of Europe ..... William Hard . 43
What Three Years Did to a Civilian ..... Fred B. Johnson, Major 46
National Organization by Industries ..... Ordway Tead 48
The Defeat of John Ruskin ..... Leo Stein 51
Frames (Verse) ..... Hazel Hall 53
Chicago Marks Time ..... F. H. 53
The Y. M. C. A. in France (A Communication) ..... James H. Powers, Sergeant 55
Correspondence 57
Reviews of Books
Mr. Bennett in London ..... F. H. 60
The New State ..... H. J. L. 61
Can Such Things Be? 62

AMERICANS who are solicitous for the credit and wellbeing of their country would do well to consider carefully the account given by William Hard elsewhere in this issue of the recent Senate debate on the $100,000,000 appropriation for the relief of starving Europe. It exhibited a callousness of feeling about the sufferings of European peoples, an ignorance of the realities of European politics, an irrelevance of mental attitude and a depth of political obscurantism and moral irresponsibility which is more depressing than any Congressional debate which has taken place since the months preceding the declaration of war. It looks for the moment as if Congress, so far from learning anything as a result of the expenditure of American treasure, blood and moral energy during the last two years, had acquired increasing inability to discuss foreign politics in a pertinent, well informed and responsible manner. Yet the case is not so bad as it looks. Many of the Senators talked foolish abominations, but five out of every six voted right. They are not merely, as Mr. Hard says, sick of Europe. They are sick of their own impotence, ineptitude and of the extent to which the administration has ignored and coerced them. The war placed them in a false and strained situation, just as it placed all parliamentary bodies, business organizations and labor unions in a false and strained situation. They wish to resume their easy accustomed behavior, but they are cramped because of the revolutionary change in conditions. Legislators, business men and wage-earners are not reconciled to the changes and do not understand what has happened. They are restless and surly. The Senators relieve their restlessness by talking nonsense, the business man by a feverish effort to resume production and increase business, the wage-earner by strikes. It will take time and patience to get them adjusted to the new world.

YET something positive needs to be done. Were the Senators to vote on the treaty of peace as they talked during the recent debate, a treaty which called for a League of Nations would not possess the slightest chance of ratification. If the Administration is wise it will adopt two different but supplementary methods of forestalling this danger. It will ask the Senate to send a committee to Paris, containing representatives of all the groups, in the hope that the Senators will put to good use an opportunity of learning for themselves what the realities of European politics are and why America cannot, if she would, disentangle herself from them. It is a choice not between isolated independence and a League but between an entangling alliance and participation in an organized society of nations. In addition, the President needs on some occasion before he submits the treaty to the Senate to appeal on behalf of his work to a series of popular meetings in this country and explain to American public opinion what he means by a League of Nations, what the alternatives to it are, and why the fulfilment of American democratic ideals depends on its consummation. After such a plain warning of the future recalcitrance of the Senate, he will need to arouse on behalf of his programme

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

a much more vigorous body of opinion than any which has yet been created.

IN all probability the conference at Princes' Island among the several factions which presume to be the only righteous government of Russia will never take place. Practically all the anti-Bolshevik groups repudiate with indignation the idea of defiling themselves by participating in a conference with the representatives of the Soviets. At this writing, Lenine has not replied but even though his reply were accommodating a conference with the Bolsheviki alone would look more like a recognition of Bolshevism than an interfactional conference. The project of a conference has revealed the irreconcilable attitude of the competing factions, and irreconcilables much prefer to kill and suppress their adversaries than to conciliate them. What, then, is to be done? Just at present the Bolsheviki appear to enjoy an advantage over the anti-Bolsheviki in the ability to sustain themselves by the sword. The latter have no present chance of establishing their authority in Russia save by the assistance of a large expeditionary European or American force, or by the establishment of what the French call a sanitary cordon around Soviet Russia, which means in practice guerilla warfare plus an implacable blockade. The first of these alternatives has been definitely renounced. The second brings with it consequences for the Russian people in the way of famine, despair, moral desperation and social disintegration from which any but the most headstrong fanatic or the most ruthless advocate of Realpolitik shrinks in horror. It remains to be seen whether the Allied statesmen will have the hardihood to adopt it. Yet if they do not adopt it the only practical remaining policy is to invite representatives of the Soviets to come to Paris in order to learn whether or not they will accommodate themselves to the necessary conditions of intercourse with other nations.

UNTIL the English papers arrive and place more information at our disposal, it would be dangerous to draw too definite or confident conclusions about the acute condition of industrial unrest in Great Britain and Ireland. But we are safe in placing one general interpretation upon the succession of strikes and upon the demands of the strikers. The strikes are partly a political demonstration. The strikers are trying to put the British industrial system under drastic pressure in the expectation less of obtaining immediately the high wages and the short hours for which they are asking than conquering for themselves an effective participation in the control of industry. British labor was profoundly discontented just previous to the war and was threatening a serious and dangerous challenge to the existing economic fabric. It remained discontented throughout the war, and the impulse to act on this discontent in a manner inimical to the success of the British arms was prevented with the utmost difficulty. The prevailing outbreak is the accumulated result of a long period of repression intensified by the increased sense of power which the war and its results have brought to the wage-earning masses. It is possible, if not probable, that they will succeed in fatally embarrassing the future conduct of British industry according to the old rules. For that reason the refusal of the British government to interfere looks short-sighted and can hardly persist. The strikes are aimed at the government as well as at the control of industry. The government cannot permanently maintain its pretense of unconcern.

AS yet this country has not since the signing of the armistice suffered from serious industrial unrest; but it is certainly headed in that direction. The management by the administration of the problem of demobilization and re-employment has been increasingly negligent. The Labor Department is doing its best to ease off the shock of transition, but it is not provided with sufficient resources and cannot count upon the cooperation of any other branch of the government. The soldiers are discharged according to methods which create pools of unemployment and future unrest in all the large cities. Partly because of the released troops and partly because of slackening industry there is a steady increase in the volume of workers without jobs. No effective measures are being taken to provide temporary opportunities for work until the trade of America resumes its normal dimensions. Neither the railroad administration, the Treasury, the states, the municipalities or Congress have adopted any plans for needed renewals, new buildings and equipment which would serve as a buffer against unemployment until the coming fall. The only attempt in the right direction is by Senator Kenyon who has introduced a bill to appropriate $100,000,000 for the purpose. If, consequently, suffering and unrest take place it will be the clear fault of the government. The problem of arranging for a smooth transition from war to peace was comparatively easy in this country and because it was easy it was neglected. The administration and Congress have conspired to ignore a plain public obligation. The indifference may cost us dear.

UNDER her new constitution, Mexico claims the right to expropriate without compensation alien titles to oil lands within her territories. The alien owners are protesting vigorously. They

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

acquired those titles lawfully by purchase from private holders, under the old constitution. Possibly an improved sense of Mexican public policy condemns the acquisition of oil lands by foreigners. Then let Mexico prohibit such acquisition for the future: no one would protest about that. But is it right that an improved public policy should work retroactively, destroying interests established lawfully and legitimately in the past? It is not. Should not our government intervene in defense of the just interests of Americans in Mexico? Perhaps: Mexico is weak. We ourselves have just adopted a constitutional amendment destroying extensive property interests, a material part of which is British. By our improved view of public policy, brewing and distilling are illegitimate enterprises. No one would have cause for protest if we declared that nobody, citizen or alien, could establish new interests of the kind. But, like Mexico, we have proceeded ruthlessly to the destruction of interests, American and alien, which were established under our earlier view of public policy. Is that right? Most British holders of brewery and distillery stock would say, very vehemently, that it is not. Should the British government intervene in behalf of the British property holders whom we are despoiling? No indeed. We are strong.

EITHER the press most horribly misrepresents him, or Ambassador Francis is talking most indiscreetly to the people of London. We quote from an interview published in the Times of February 2nd: "Lenine undoubtedly supplied the brains of the Soviet movement. He is an intellectual man whose intellect is swamped by fanaticism. His object in life is to bring about a world-wide revolution. He has used German money freely in order to secure dictatorship of the masses. The basic principle of the Soviet movement is to prevent the exploitation of one man by another. It is obviously an insane conception and does away with all accepted ideas of employment." To do away with the exploitation of one man by another: that is a conception entertained also by a powerful fraction of the British public who do not pronounce themselves insane.

ACCORDING to the Associated Press summaries of national claims before the Peace Conference, France will demand sixty-six billion francs by way of reparation and Belgium will demand three billion, besides the return of machinery carried away. If this information is at all authoritative, it offers significant indication of the way matters are going in the Conference. When Germany asked for an armistice with a view to making peace on the basis of the principles laid down by President Wilson, the President, speaking for America and the Allies, reserved the right to modify those principles in order to admit claims for reparation. No reservation was made of a right to levy indemnities to cover the cost of Allied war making. The estimates reported by the Associated Press clearly observe the distinction between claims for reparation and indemnities proper. The sums mentioned are no doubt inflated, but they are nothing in comparison with the most moderate claims of those who wished to levy indemnities. The significant point, however, is not that the charges, though heavy, will fall within Germany's capacity to pay, but that the terms upon which Germany sued for peace are not to be treated by the victorious Allies as a scrap of paper.

EVEN though the claims for reparation are strictly defined and squeezed dry of inflation, there is no likelihood that they will fall far short of fifteen billions of dollars. That is ten times the value of the gold and other movable wealth that could be carried out of Germany at the present time. Reparation must, therefore, be regarded as a credit transaction. Its practical realization must rest with the future productive power of the German people. It is hard to conceive that there should be in the world any literate persons so wanting in elementary economic insight as not to understand this. Yet there are. Veracious press correspondents are reporting that "France" is opposed to permitting Germany to have food, on the ground that the Germans may spend on bread the sums that might otherwise be paid over for reparation. What do the three or four hundred million dollars necessary for the provisioning of Germany amount to, as compared with the fifteen billions that France, Belgium and England will never get if famine falls upon Germany and it sinks into anarchy compared with which the condition of Russia is one of good order?

THE attempt of the Hearst newspapers and a few American business men to use the embargo placed by Great Britain on a large list of imports as a pretext for exciting anti-British feeling is thoroughly despicable. We do not pretend to know whether this temporary measure of economic self-protection is or is not necessary for the welfare of the British people; but if the British government claims that it is necessary Americans should be willing to accept in good faith its word. The British nation has a record of economic fair dealing with others which is far superior to that of any nation in the world, particularly to that of the United States; and if its government adopts an emergency measure of this kind without consulting

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

British public opinion it must be dealing with a really critical situation. British industry is disabled and disorganized as a result of the war to an extent which it is hard for an American to realize. The problem of demobilizing the troops, of regaining its power of producing and selling commodities in anything like the old volume for private consumption is one of stupendous difficulty and requires delicate adjustments and drastic temporary expedients. Americans would never have had the chance of sharing in a joint victory over Germany if it had not been for the willingness of the British government to compromise the future prosperity of the British people. They should accept in good faith any temporary economic precautions which their friends in Great Britain adopt during the transition from war to peace.

AMERICA is not an eager candidate for the position of mandatory over any part of the Turkish territories. We have nothing to gain in that quarter, and we do not want any more responsibility for the ordering of turbulent backward peoples than our consciences require us to assume. The Philippines have taught us much that bears upon this point. But neither is it to be assumed that the plain American people are absolutely averse to the assumption of such responsibilities, if the nations urge them upon us. There is not an American village in which the better sort have not for a generation felt an acute sense of the wrongs inflicted upon the Armenians. We have raised money for Armenian relief, we have sent missionaries and educators to Armenia, and we have suffered under the feeling of the futility of it all, so long as the Turks could kill and enslave without interference on the part of the European Powers. And now suppose that those Powers offer to confer upon us the trusteeship of Armenia, with the right and duty to see that the Armenian people are given their fair chance of developing in peace and happiness. Would our representatives dare to reject the offer? There happen to be several million Christian voters in America, likely to be moved in unaccountable ways after the next Armenian massacre has taken place.

WHILE the Peace Conference is weighing the question whether or not the nations shall abolish the system of universal military service, the pupils in the New York high schools, by order of the Department of Education, must be taught, "in the most inspiring and efficient manner" that volunteer service is irregular and unfair, that the national guard or state militia is insufficient in numbers and extent of training, that a regular army is inadequate and that therefore universal military service is the ultimate desideratum. The high school student must be taught, efficiently and inspiringly, that universal service is a just duty, that it is not militarism, that it is democratic, that it is a benefit to the individual in health, in physical development, in the formation of good habits. See The World War, a Syllabus. No doubt the Department of Education and many of the teachers in the system believe in universal training, as many of the rest of us do. It is none the less a moot political question, and we should like to know, on what theory of public policy do our authorities proceed when they undertake to jam their partisan views down the throats of our high school students? If they happened to be protectionists or single taxers, would they attempt to use the schools likewise for the propagation of partisan views?

American Policy in Russia

ALL well-wishers of democracy in Russia have reason to thank Senator Johnson for his frank and persistent criticism of the government's Russian policy. Among all the members of both houses of Congress the majority of whom are only too anxious to find some pretext for denouncing the President, he alone has had the courage to call attention to the doubtful legality and the more than doubtful wisdom of the prevailing military operations on Russian soil. He alone has had the good sense to ask the State Department to transmit to Congress the documents which will reveal the disposition of the Soviet government towards America, how that government regarded its former German oppressors, and what price it was willing to pay for aid in resisting Germany. These documents will, we believe, prove that neither in March, 1918, nor at any other time was the policy of America or that of its associates based upon a fair interpretation of the attitude of the Soviet government or the needs of the Russian people. The Allied policy towards revolutionary Russia in all its successive phases will, when the complete record is published, be exposed as a gross and colossal blunder. Allied diplomacy encouraged the inexorable growth of the very socialistic class fanaticism and animosities from which Allied interests in Russia were bound to suffer the maximum damage. The recent forced adoption of a policy of conciliation is itself a confession of previous error. It implies an unanswerable indictment of the policy which had preceded it and which is now calling for the unnecessary and fruitless staining of the snows of Russia with American blood.

Yet courageous and pertinent as is Senator Johnson's protest, the method proposed by him of correcting the blunder is almost as clumsy and ineffectual as the original mistake. He demands the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

immediate and the unconditional withdrawal of American troops as a sufficient cure for the defects of American policy in Russia. This will not do. The retirement of the American troops alone will not serve the purpose which the friends of the Russian democracy should most persistently cherish. What Russia needs is the restoration of a more normal relationship to the rest of the world and a recovery in Russia of the normal activities of peace. The American government cannot satisfy this need by playing a lone hand. The immediate and unconditional withdrawal of the American troops would involve the adoption by our government of a policy towards Russia which disregarded the interests and the purposes of our European associates. It would mean the resumption in this respect of American isolation, and its effect would be to wreck the delicate and critical negotiations which President Wilson is conducting in Paris without any compensating assurance of benefiting the Russian people. Most earnestly do we hope for the early recall of the American expeditionary forces in Russia, but there is little to be gained by withdrawing them alone. When they embark they should embark in the company of the French, British, Czecho-Slovak and Japanese contingents. It is essential that all the Allied governments participate in the decision to withdraw, and that the decision be the expression and the result of a comprehensive adjustment of the urgent differences between the Allies and revolutionary Russia.

Consider for a moment the effect upon the negotiations in Paris of the adoption by the American government of an independent policy in Russia. President Wilson is laboring to bring about an agreement among the five great Powers as to the essentials of common international organization and policy. His work meets with stubborn opposition from those European and Asiatic nations who have come to the Conference chiefly for the purpose of satisfying exclusive national interests. Yet he is succeeding to an extent which only a few weeks ago seemed wholly improbable. He has secured their adhesion to a League of Nations which is to form an essential part of the treaty of peace. He has secured their acquiescence in the principle of vesting the title to all conquered colonies in the League, and of the administration of those colonies subject to the supervision of the League. Finally, he has obtained at least the formal consent to the plan of trying to conciliate revolutionary Russia instead of coercing her. All the Allied Powers have conceded much and will have to concede more in order to avoid breaking out of the concert. They are exhibiting a commendable disposition to cooperate and to meet the reasonable demands of the American government. If President Wilson should repay them by suddenly withdrawing from Russia without consulting their opinions and without reaching any agreement with them as to a common future policy they could fairly accuse President Wilson of something very much like bad faith. He cannot pursue an independent course of action in Russia without withering the tender plant of international cooperation which he is so carefully nurturing in Paris.

Even though the joint Allied policy in Russia includes for the time being an indefensible and mischievous policy of military intervention, the American government can for the present contribute to the welfare of the Russian people more effectively by acting in association with its allies than by separating from them. President Wilson is exercising as beneficial an influence on the Russian policy of the Peace Conference as he is on its general policy. He is the sincerest and most lucid friend of the Russian Revolution in the councils of the Allies. In spite of the infirmities and mistakes of his Russian policy, the Russian Revolution owes him an incalculable debt. He has prevented the French and the English governments from committing still more flagrant mistakes. He emphatically and unequivocally repudiated the policy of deserting Russia which was at one time advocated by Lloyd George. He firmly and successfully opposed the fatal plan of thrusting a large Japanese army into Siberia. He did his best to prevent the acceptance of the second plan of joint military intervention on a more moderate scale. When he finally, and in our opinion unnecessarily, yielded to the tremendous pressure brought to bear on him by the French and British governments, he yielded with certain significant reservations. A Congressman who is opposed to a resolution will, when he foresees the certainty of its passage, sometimes cast a vote in its favor in order to obtain the parliamentary right of moving for its subsequent reconsideration. President Wilson in submitting to the pressure in favor of intervention was pursuing similar tactics. He acquiesced in a course of action of which he did not approve in the expectation of eventually bringing about its frustration. At the present moment he is using his influence in Paris in favor of the early and complete abandonment of military operations against the Soviet republic. He has a fair chance of success, not because France and Great Britain wish to withdraw, but because they shrink from the cost of sending sufficient reinforcements to their present armies. He would by the adoption of an independent policy of withdrawal injure his chance of performing a considerable service to the Russian people.

Senator Johnson is doing well to demand the publication of the documentary record about

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Russia and to insist on the futility of keeping in that country such small bodies of American and Allied troops. But his own plan of immediate withdrawal is no improvement on that of the administration. He is exploiting the manifest infirmities of the President's policy in Russia, not for the purpose of substituting a plan which will enable the Russian people to recover with the least possible delay some of their normal social activities, but merely for the purpose of injuring the President and of returning to the former American practice of international isolation and irresponsibility. In this respect he is following the example of the other progressive Republicans who are competing with Democrats such as Reed and Vardaman in the effort to destroy the association with Europe which was brought about by the declaration of war against Germany. In this respect they are reactionaries and not progressives. They are refusing to adjust their opinions to the plain facts of the increasing political and economic interdependence between America and Europe, and, like other people who refuse to adjust their programmes to the facts, they will be discredited by the ineptitude of their proposals. We trust that Senator Johnson will not persist in this error. Because of the obscurantism and lack of initiative and courage on the part of the majority of his colleagues in the Senate, he has a great opportunity of winning the leadership of progressive Republicanism and of restoring a little meaning to that nebulous creed. But he will never take advantage of the opportunity by behaving as if it was more important to hate and denounce Wilson than to support the sound aspects of the Wilson programme and as if the chief business of an American statecraft was to renounce Europe and all its affairs.

Colonial Trusteeship

SHALL the German colonies and the conquered Turkish lands be distributed among the conquerors, or shall they be held in trust for civilization? That is a question on which men may disagree as practical administrators. But administrative considerations alone would not account for the bitterness with which the question has been debated, within the Peace Conference and outside of it. The colonial question involves the whole structure of peace. Are we to have an effective League of Nations or are we not? If we are, the colonies ought to be held in trust for the League. If we are not, they ought to be placed irrevocably in strong nationalistic control.

There is nothing recondite in this relation between the question of the League and the question of the colonies. It is apparent that the opponents of the League are quite aware of it. Observe the bitterness exhibited by Senators Lodge and Poindexter, by the British and colonial nationalists, toward the plan of colonial trusteeship. There is good ground for this bitterness. The cause of the anti-internationalists would be lost if the League were launched with ultimate control over some two millions of square miles, since that of itself would make periodic conventions imperative.

It was not, however, with the object of giving the League a concrete task to perform and thus to insure its vitality that the British Liberals and President Wilson worked out the plan of vesting colonial control in the several Powers as mandatories of the League, responsible to the League. There was in the first place a point of honor to be considered. Germany was fighting for loot, but we were not. And loot incidentally found in the hands of an honest man is an embarrassment. Among the principles for which America was fightig was one which proclaims that the wishes and interests of the colonial populations are to be taken into consideration in their final disposition. That most certainly means that Germany is not to recover them, with full liberty to exterminate them as she exterminated the Hereros. But neither does it mean that any other nation is to be placed in a position to disregard the interests of the indigenes without giving the right of protest to the other nations responsible for the settlement.

The plain intent of the American war aims was that the disposition of conquered territories was not to be determined upon simply in accordance with the interests of the imperial nations. Those aims have been accepted by our allies. It therefore becomes pertinent to inquire whether the interests of the inhabitants can be fully safeguarded under any plan that distributes them finally among the Allied nations. We cannot see how this would be possible.

For it is essential to the welfare of the inhabitants of the conquered territories that they should be developed economically, but not exploited. They ought to be granted the widest possible markets, in order that their products may yield a fair price, and they ought to be able to import goods from any nation without discrimination, to raise capital in any financial market, in order to escape extortionate prices and rates. In late decades, the British non-settlement colonies have enjoyed such liberty. They have been permitted to sell where they pleased and to buy or borrow where they pleased. But that was true of the British colonies alone, and there is no guaranty that it will always remain true of them. All other colonies have been forced to pay for imports prices higher

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

than necessary for the benefit of the colonizing nation. The German colonies have been improved with railroads all the materials of which have been brought from Germany at costs needlessly high. The same thing has been true of the French and Japanese colonies and of the American Philippines. That means that the miserable natives, struggling up into modern economic life, have been saddled with inflated charges for the benefit of the manufacturers and exporters of the nation that has held them by force, not by their consent. Surely the world did not fight German predatory imperialism merely in order to substitute other predation for German. If we have been honest in our professions we shall establish the open door policy, in the fullest sense of the phrase, in all the colonies taken from Germany and the non-self-government lands that have fallen from the grasp of the Turk. And we shall not establish it under treaties that may be denounced as the treaties governing the trade of Tunis, Morocco and Korea, but under treaties as binding as any other agreements constituting the League. That of itself means a limitation upon the sovereign power of the nations to which the colonies are granted. Of itself, it would place those nations rather in the position of trustee than in that of sovereign.

It is not, however, merely as a matter of justice to the colonies that they should be guaranteed against selfish exploitation by a single state. It is also a matter of justice to the states party to the League who hold no colonies, or only insignificant ones, that they should not be excluded from the whole field of colonial development. Doubtless most recent writers have over-estimated the relative importance of this trade. But that it is significant now and may in another generation become a vital factor in industrial development can hardly be denied. It would be the height of unreason to expect stability in a League of Nations that attempted to perpetuate a system whereby certain nations, through the possession of colonies, monopolized important industries or levied a tribute upon the industries of other member nations requiring materials of colonial origin. As all the world knows, the feeling that she was unfairly treated in the matter of colonies was one of the forces that inclined Germany toward military aggression. After the peace Germany will be altogether without colonies, and the same thing will be true of the Czecho-Slovak state and the Polish state, both of which are likely to develop rapidly in industry if political and economic stability are reestablished. It will also be true of the Scandinavian states, of Switzerland, and practically of Italy, whose Tripolitan sands and possible acquisitions in Asia Minor will provide scant materials of industry as compared with those that may be drawn from Central Africa and the Orient. Even the United States, launched upon a course of trade expansion, might find herself discontented with a state of affairs that closed to her most of the undeveloped regions of the world.

To establish complete harmony among the nations forming the League it would be desirable that the principle of the open door be applied to all non-self-governing colonies whatsoever. But the status of most of those colonies is not before the peace conference for determination. All that can be done at the present time is to set a precedent for even-handed treatment of all the nations in the colonial territories wrested from Germany and Turkey. And that can be most surely effected if those territories are thrown under the ultimate sovereignty of the League, with power to distribute them among mandatory Powers who may be required to yield them up in case the conditions of the trust are not observed.

But that is not a practical expedient, the opponents of the League are urging. How can a mandatory nation undertake permanent improvements, such as railway building, if its tenure is not assured? It is not necessary, or even expedient, that such improvements be undertaken by the mandatory nation, unless they promise to be productive enough to pay for themselves. Did the French pour their money into Madagascar railways, the British into Indian railways, without prospects of a paying traffic? If they did, they abused the confidence of their nationals. And if colonial railways are a paying venture, they represent items that will not be difficult to account for if the League finds itself compelled to order a change in mandatories.

But what special profit would a nation gain from the possession of colonies under such a plan? None. The colonial revenues would be expected to meet the costs of administration. The costs of defense would be borne by the League, in effect, since every member of it would be called upon to aid in maintaining the world's peace, upon which the tenure of the mandatory would ultimately depend. There would therefore be no just ground upon which the mandatory nation could claim any special profit. Such a profit could mean only one thing: tribute exacted from one people by another. And if there is one thing utterly inadmissible under the principles avowed by the nations now engaged in ordering the affairs of the world, it is tribute exacted from the weaker peoples by the stronger, from the poorer by the richer, from the less civilized by the more civilized. By their insistence that the plan robs colonial possessions of all nationalistic advantage, the opponents of trusteeship approve its democratic worth.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

How They Do Things in Canada

WE who dwell in the United States are numerous and rich and at least in our own eyes extremely progressive people. True, we do not occupy the whole of the continent, nor all the energies and the achievements of it, but we often come near assuming that we do. We guard Mexico and Central America well against all rapacities but our own, and as to our Canadian neighbors we admit rather patronizingly that they are of good stuff, almost the same stuff as ourselves; that they have a great future before them, almost as great a future as our own. Often we seem to be assuring them that they will arrive, if they will follow our lead faithfully. Sometimes Canadians are said to resent this attitude. Sometimes they are said to claim a position of leadership for themselves. And certainly, they have the best right in the world to do it. If any American from this side of the border requires proof on this point, we would call his attention to the proceedings of the General Conference of the Methodist Church of Canada held at Hamilton, 1918. Two of the reports adopted by that conference, Evangelism and Social Service, and The Church, the War and Patriotism exhibit a degree of courage and enlightenment unexampled in the work of any religious body in the United States, or anywhere else, so far as we know. They place the Canadian Methodist Church, with its million members, in the extreme forefront of the modern democratic movement.

For half a century the Christian churches have been bitterly assailed by humanitarian and industrial reformers on the ground that their personal bias in ethics has placed them in a reactionary attitude toward institutional ethics. They have not grasped the fact that in the vast complex of modern industrial life there are grave evils that require other remedies than the inculcation of personal goodwill and charity. Therefore the churches have tried to maintain harmony of spirit between master and servant, employer and employee, and have exerted their influence to blunt the edge of issues that must be fought out if we are to proceed toward a fuller and freer democratic life. Thus they have lost a splendid opportunity for leadership. They failed to grasp the underlying ethical character of the democratic humanitarian movement and surrendered its guidance to men who were often unreligious if not irreligious. This the Hamilton Conference sees and openly confesses:

> Had the Methodist doctrine of holiness or perfect love been followed in all its social and economic implications, Methodism would have been the home of that passion for human brotherhood, religious in its intensity, which has been shown by many groups of men and women outside the Church, and as Dr. Dale, of Birmingham, has said, "Methodism would have inaugurated a revolution compared with which the Protestant Reformation would have to take second place." The cruelties of the industrial systems in the factories and mines of England, the heartlessness which permitted the growth of slums and kindred conditions in the cities, and the social and economic subjection of the poor, would have been the subjects of our persistent attack, and England would not have had to wait for Lord Shaftesbury and other reformers to do the work they did.

Statesmen and political scientists have seen in the Great War not merely the result of personal and dynastic ambitions, but, more than anything else, the logical result of an epoch of unrestrained international competition under an undemocratic industrial system. That is a view that few of our religious and ethical teachers have grasped. It was thoroughly understood by the Hamilton Conference, and its implications drawn with logical rigor:

> 1. The present economic system stands revealed as one of the roots of the war. The insane pride of Germany, her passion for world-domination, found an occasion in the demand for colonies as markets and sources of raw materials —the imperative need of competing groups of industries carried on for profits.
>
> 2. The war has made more clearly manifest the moral perils inherent in the system of production for profits. Condemnation of special individuals seems often unjust and always futile. The system rather than the individual calls for change.
>
> 3. The war is the coronation of democracy. No profounder interpretation of the issue has been made than the great phrase of President Wilson's that the Allies are fighting to "make the world safe for democracy." It is clearly impossible for the champions of democracy to set limits to its recognition. The last century democratized politics; the twentieth century has found that political democracy means little without economic democracy. The democratic control of industry is just and inevitable.

* * *

The triumph of democracy, the demand of the educated workers for human conditions of life, the deep condemnation this war has passed on the competitive struggle, the revelation of the superior efficiency of rational organization and cooperation, combine with the unfulfilled, the often forgotten, but the undying ethics of Jesus, to demand nothing less than a transference of the whole economic life from a basis of competition and profits to one of cooperation and service.

We recognize the magnificent effort of many great employers to make their industrial organization a means of uplift and betterment to all who participate, but the human spirit instinctively resents even the most benevolent forms of government while self-government is denied. The noblest humanitarian aims of employers, too, are often thwarted by the very conditions under which their business is carried on.

That another system is practicable is shown by the recent statement of the British Prime Minister, that every industry save one in Britain has been made to serve the national interest by the elimination of the element of private profit. That the present organization, based on production and service for profits, can be superseded by a system of production and service for human needs is no longer a dream.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

We, therefore, look to our national government—and the factor is a vital one—to enlist in the service of the nation those great leaders and corporations which have shown magnificent capacity in the organizing of life and resources for the profit of shareholders. Surely the same capacity can find nobler and more deeply satisfying activity in the service of the whole people rather than in the service of any particular group.

The British Government Commission has outlined a policy which, while accepting as a present fact the separation of capital and labor, definitely denies the right of sole control to the former and, insisting on the full organization of workers and employers, vests the government of every industry in a joint board of employers and workers, which board shall determine the working conditions of that industry.

This policy has been officially adopted by the British government and nothing less can be regarded as tolerable even now in Canada.

But we do not believe this separation of labor and capital can be permanent. Its transcendence, whether through cooperation or public ownership, seems to be the only constructive and radical reform.

This is the policy set forth by the great labor organizations and must not be rejected because it presupposes, as Jesus did, that the normal human spirit will respond more readily to the call to service than to the lure of private gain.

But all this, one might hastily conclude, is facile generalization: who is there that is not willing to talk glibly about democracy, and industry organized for service instead of profit? Concrete policies are what signify, and what do the Canadian Methodists have to offer? Read and ask yourself: Did I expect to live to see any religious body thus boldly taking a position in the van of the times, after the generations of playing safe and innocuous?

1. *Special Privilege Condemned:* We declare all special privilege, not based on useful service to the community, to be a violation of justice, which is the foundation of democrary.

2. *Democratic Commercial Organization:* We declare that forms of industrial organization should be developed which call labor to a voice in the management and a share in the profits and risks of business. All forms of autocratic organization of business should be discouraged. We call attention to the remarkable and unchallenged success of the cooperative stores, factories, and steamship lines of England and Scotland, as great examples of democracy in industry.

3. *Profits of Labor and Capital:* We declare it to be unChristian to accept profits when laborers do not receive a living wage, or when capital receives disproportionate returns as compared with labor.

4. *Old Age Insurance:* We recommend Old Age Insurance on a national scale, in which the annuity paid shall be based upon the average earnings of the country, each year of a man's effective life. This would protect all citizens from the fear of penury in old age, and at the same time would make every citizen directly interested in both the prosperity of every business in the country and the good health and industry of every fellow citizen.

5. *Unearned Wealth:* We condemn speculation in land, grain, foodstuffs, and natural resources, as well as the frequent capture of unearned wealth through over-capitalization of commercial enterprises. We place the principle of the Golden Rule before the man who seeks wealth by investment, and then endeavors to escape impending loss by unloading upon others. These are dangerous forms of economic injustice in which we cannot engage without sin. Is there not in our Church a wide-spread call for repentance and confession of sin in this regard?

6. *Profiteering:* As the people are virtual partners in every business enterprise, we condemn that profiteering which takes out of them profits not justified by the value or cost of the service rendered. We recommend the enactment of legislation which shall secure to labor a fair wage adequate to a proper standard of living, to the business a fair profit adequate for its continuance, and to the public all returns in excess of these.

7. *Nationalization of National Resources:* We are in favor of the nationalization of our natural resources, such as mines, water-powers, fisheries, forests, the means of communication and transportation, and public utilities on which all the people depend.

8. *The Company-Owned Town:* We call attention to the Closed or Company Town as a menace to democracy, in that the citizens are in danger of being robbed of freedom of political action, and of power to demand proper sanitary, educational and social conditions for themselves and their children.

9. *Sympathy with Labor:* As followers of the Carpenter of Nazareth, we sympathetically seek to understand the problems of life as they confront the classes of labor in Canada, and thus rightly estimate the pleas they make for justice, and find in them allies in the struggle to realize the ends of fair play, humanity and brotherhood.

We submit that it is time for Americans on this side of the line to disabuse themselves of the illusion that all progress is destined to diffuse itself from us outward and northward. The same spirit that has placed the Methodist Church of Canada leagues ahead of any religious organization of the United States in its conceptions of social policy is operating in other departments of Canadian life. We shall yet learn to look to the north for light, as to east and west.

The New
REPUBLIC
A Journal of Opinion

PUBLISHED WEEKLY AND COPYRIGHT, 1919, IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA BY THE REPUBLIC PUBLISHING COMPANY, INC., 421 WEST TWENTY-FIRST STREET, NEW YORK, N. Y. HERBERT CROLY, PRESIDENT, ROBERT HALLOWELL, TREASURER

EDITORS
HERBERT CROLY FRANCIS HACKETT
PHILIP LITTELL ALVIN JOHNSON
WALTER E. WEYL
SIGNE TOKSVIG, Assistant Editor

YEARLY SUBSCRIPTION FIFTY-TWO ISSUES, FIVE DOLLARS IN ADVANCE. SINGLE COPIES FIFTEEN CENTS. CANADIAN SUBSCRIPTION FIVE DOLLARS AND FIFTY CENTS PER YEAR IN ADVANCE. FOREIGN SUBSCRIPTIONS FOR COUNTRIES IN THE POSTAL UNION, SIX DOLLARS PER YEAR IN ADVANCE: REMITTANCE TO BE MADE BY INTERNATIONAL POSTAL MONEY ORDER.

ENTERED AS SECOND CLASS MATTER, NOVEMBER 6, 1914, AT THE POST OFFICE AT NEW YORK, N. Y., UNDER THE ACT OF MARCH 3, 1879.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Senate is Sick of Europe

THE behavior of the Senate when it gets the peace treaty was foreshadowed by its behavior in handling the President's request for $100,000,000 to be used in financing the distribution of food to the "liberated peoples of Europe."

This request was originated by a new body called the Supreme Council of Supply and Relief. It is a distinguished body and an able one, composed of men experienced in practical affairs. One of its two French members is M. Clementel, Minister of Commerce. One of its two British members is Lord Reading. Its chairman is a man 44 years old, born at West Branch, Iowa, graduated from Leland Stanford University, an employee once of the Arkansas Geological Survey and then of the United States Geological Survey, and an assistant manager afterwards of the Morning Star mines in California and of the Carlisle mines in New Mexico—Herbert Clark Hoover, whose nationality Senator Penrose wants to know.

This body made a report to the Supreme War Council at Paris saying: "It is imperative in the interest of humanity and for the maintenance of orderly government that relief should be given to certain European countries. It is provisionally estimated that till next harvest a minimum sum of $300,000,000 may be necessary, apart from the requirements of Germany, which will be separately considered!"

The Supreme War Council decided that two-thirds of that minimum sum could be contributed by Britain, France and Italy and that one-third of it should be requested from the United States. Mr. Wilson cabled to Washington accordingly. His messages were fortified by statements showing that in Serbia, for instance, the people of the northern districts are on a bread-ration of only three ounces a day and the people of the southern districts are being fed by the British army.

The bill came up in the Senate for debate on Saturday, January 18th. It was debated on that day and on the succeeding Monday and Tuesday and Wednesday and Thursday and Friday. It was debated six days. The senatorial observations made upon it now fill two hundred and thirty-nine columns of the Congressional Record, not counting thirteen columns of statistics by Mr. La Follette on (a) the union scale of wages and hours in the North Atlantic States for asbestos workers and composition roofers and boiler makers' helpers and other persons, and on (b) the American cost of production of steel ingots 6 feet long, 2 feet wide and 1½ feet thick and weighing 4 gross tons.

Mr. Ashurst proposed to amend the bill by providing that every discharged American soldier should keep his uniform and his overcoat and should get a bonus of ninety days' pay. Mr. Thomas "could not allow an amendment of this sort to reach a vote without recording his protest against it." It was, in his judgment, "the first of a series of measures designed to transform our splendid army into a huge band of mercenaries." Mr. Smoot asked the Senate to pause to consider the hand of God in this war. "I believe, Mr. President, as much as I believe anything, that if it had not been for an over-ruling power, the Germans would have captured Paris. Last April, when Germany was pressing the French army back each day and the supreme effort finally made a break in the line, I am told that there was a dense fog, so thick that a man could hardly see his hand before him, settled over the two great contending armies, and it was for that reason that the Germans did not know that the French line was broken for the width of eight miles and the road to Paris was open to the German army. However, it was not to be. God ruled it otherwise." Mr. Fletcher, addressing himself to the bill, said that Lord Inchcape on behalf of the Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Company had ordered two ships from Messrs. Harland and Wolf and three ships from Messrs. Caird. Mr. Jones of Washington said on the other hand that President Wilson was personally (by direct order from the White House) preventing American shipyards from building steel ships for foreigners. Mr. Poindexter, following the oceanic developments of the subject, said that the President had been quite wrong in demanding the abolition of special privileges for American merchant-ships in the Panama Canal and that "the American people will yet reclaim the right to the use of the Panama Canal for the special benefit of the American people, who constructed it and who own it."

Mr. Penrose then proposed to amend the bill by providing that the money should be spent on buying American wheat at the price guaranteed to the American farmer by the American government under the provisions of the Levy law, a law which, said Mr. Penrose, ought never to have been enacted. Mr. Penrose also proposed to amend the bill by providing that the money should be spent by three special commissioners because Mr. Hoover owns "a palatial establishment" in England and has lived there all his life and with the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

close of the war will probably "resume his residence among those congenial foreign surroundings," and "I should like to ask the Senator from Virginia if he knows whether Mr. Hoover is an American citizen and ever voted in this country." Mr. McCumber irritated Mr. La Follette into statistics by saying, and apparently believing, that "the most ordinary labor" in this country now gets $6, $7, $8, and $10 a day. Mr. Hardwick, however, denied that we entered the war to democratize the world. So did Mr. Harding, who began his speech for the purpose of continuing it until he could find out what it was that he wanted to say; or, as he expressed it, "I am in such a state of hesitancy that I thought perhaps if I ventured some remarks about the motives which are impelling me I might arrive at a decision for myself." One of his motives was to go to jail with Debs. He said: "We made the excuse that we were making war for democracy, and it was a lie from the beginning." But Mr. Kenyon thought that the War Trade Board went scandalously beyond its powers in organizing its "Russian Bureau, Incorporated," for promoting, financing, building, constructing, etc., piers, docks, buildings, etc., in any part of the world outside of the State of Connecticut. Mr. Sterling noticed: "The debate has taken a very wide range, and many subjects not exactly germane to the proposition involved have been discussed."

Turning therefore toward germaneness, Mr. Borah entered upon a detailed consideration of the packers and of Mr. Hoover's dealings with the packers. The packers were making too much money. Mr. Hoover had permitted them to make too much money. Part of this appropriation would have to be spent in buying meat. Part of this meat would have to be bought from the packers. The packers would make an excessive profit on it. "Mr. President, this of itself precludes my giving my vote for this bill." Till we settled the packers, and till we got rid of Mr. Hoover, the Serbians would have to be fed by the British, manifestly.

Mr. Hardwick's succor for the Serbians was equally germanely and yet very differently termed. It depended on the complete prior abolition of poverty in the United States. "I would not vote a single dollar to send to Europe as long as there was a single suffering child in this country that needed food or that needed help."

Still more germane was the discussion of Bolshevism, though perhaps Mr. Hoover was slightly misunderstood when Senators seemed to assume that he would take a loaf of bread and show it to Lenine and offer to let him have it if he would stop being a Bolshevist. "Are we to hire people to abstain from criminal acts?" said Mr. Myers. "The principal object of this appropriation is to stem the tide of Bolshevism in Europe? Are we with food to buy people to be good and not commit crime? We might as well liberate the one hundred I. W. W.'s who were convicted at Chicago and put in the penitentiary. The Bolshevists have abolished God. They have declared there is no God. They have abolished marriage. They have decreed that all women in Russia shall be kept in common. No child in the future is to know who is its father. The home, the fireside, are abolished. The people of Russia played the part of Benedict Arnold in the European war. The people of Russia are entitled to no consideration by the prevailing Powers of the world." Mr. Hardwick seemed to think so, too. "This is a political proposition," said he, "to check the spread of Bolshevism in Europe. And yet we have not treated our American Bolsheviki in that spirit." Mr. Vardaman: "We have shot them and jailed them and done a few other necessary things." Shooting and jailing are better for them than feeding; because, as Mr. Poindexter said, "you cannot stop Bolshevists with food. There is a man in jail in San Francisco now who goes by the name of Mooney. He was convicted in due process of law. The Bolshevists, for whose relief we propose to appropriate $100,000,000, made an attack upon the processes of the courts of California. And the President asked the Governor of California to set aside the decrees of the courts of that state and to grant a new trial to this professional murderer because of a foreign agitation and demand made by the Bolsheviki of Russia."

It was natural that the President should behave in that way. He bears a strong resemblance to Lenine. Mr. Hardwick sees it. "The world today," said Mr. Hardwick, "is trembling under the menace of Bolshevism, and it owes a very large part of that growing menace to the policies and utterances of the Chief Executive of the United States." Mr. Smith of Michigan was more forgiving. He thought that Russia had deserved well of the American Republic. He said: "When our Ambassador at the Court of St. James pleaded for the discontinuance of the construction of privateers with which the government of Mr. Lincoln was to be destroyed, it was the government of Russia that sent a fleet into American waters under sealed orders to go to the relief of Mr. Lincoln. I have read every paper that passed between our State Department and our Ambassador bearing upon that question and I commend that correspondence to the people who are criticizing Russia today. I do not think Lenine is a Russian."

Mr. Smith was willing to extend a certain amount of forgiveness even to Germany. He had to admit, of course, that he would not vote to re-erect

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the statue of Frederick the Great in front of the War College but he said specifically that he was in favor of allowing the statue of von Steuben to continue standing in Lafayette Square. Toward Germany, strangely enough, Mr. Harding was even more forgiving than Mr. Smith. In fact, Mr. Harding's talent for forgiveness prevented him from voting for the bill. After speaking for some time in his effort to discover his own opinions, he concluded: "I would despise myself if I were not content to grant from our stores to the starving of Germany. I cannot vote for this measure with the limitations which have been put in the bill." At the other pole from him stood Mr. Myers. One of Mr. Myers's deliberate objections to the bill was that it would lead on precisely toward the idea of food for Germans. "If we vote this $100,000,000, it will only be a short time until we will be called upon to vote $100,000,000 to the alleged starving people of Germany."

Finally and utterly germane was the argument based on the Constitution. Mr. Kenyon presented it with special force and length. "The basis upon which I place my objection is that Congress has no right to take the money of the people by taxation and give it away outside the country." When he got through, Mr. Hitchcock did a nasty thing. He rose and reminded Mr. Kenyon that Mr. Kenyon had introduced into the Senate a resolution for absolutely giving to France a sum of money substantially equivalent to the sum which we have loaned to France during the war. If Mr. Kenyon could constitutionally give money to France, why not to other countries in Europe?

That incident summed up the character of the whole debate. Senators simply did not want to go deeper into Europe, and, because they did not want to go, they grasped at any argument that occurred to them, no matter how inconsistent or how ridiculous. True, the bill finally passed, by a large majority. And, true, it was ably defended by various Senators, including Mr. Hitchcock and Mr. Lenroot and Mr. Kellogg. But the mind of the Senate was temperamentally against it. Mr. Borah went perhaps too far but he was on the path of truth when he said: "It is an open secret, Mr. President, that not five per cent of the Senate are in favor of this bill." And the final vote was really a quite plain revealment of that secret. The Senate was under a strong patriotic compulsion to support the President in at least the immediate features of his policy during his stay in Paris; and this compulsion was irresistible upon the Democrats; and yet there were 18 votes against the bill to 53 for it; and among the 34 Republicans who voted there were 15 who recorded themselves in the negative.

Compared with the projects Mr. Wilson may put into a Wilsonian peace treaty, this project was a gnat. Yet the Senate had the greatest difficulty in swallowing it. And the reason was clearer and clearer as the debate wore on. The Senate is sick and tired of interventions in Europe. It does not believe in them. It wants them stopped.

Mr. Cummings put it completely. He spoke of the new nations to be set up in Europe. And he said: "The President intends to bind the United States to the maintenance and safety of these sovereignties. I am not in favor of it. I have no sympathy with it. And I will not vote for an appropriation which is intended to usher in that kind of obligation upon the part of the United States." And Mr. Borah said: "So, Mr. President, we have entered upon the European programme of entangling alliances, and before we have passed the first milestone this Republic has accepted the fundamental principle of absolutism in government [secret diplomacy]: how far are we going to travel upon this road?" And Mr. Harding said: "The big thing to do, Senators, is to get ourselves out of the entanglement into which we went in defense of our American rights and to stop this indefensible discussion about fighting for democracy and the creation of new governments throughout the world." And Mr. Kellogg, in the very course of defending the bill, said: "I am not in favor of crossing the ocean to pledge the honor and strength of this nation to maintain the governments which may be set up." And Mr. Poindexter said: "The policy of the United States should be to conclude peace and to withdraw from Europe and to leave to the Old World the solution of those problems which are peculiar to that hemisphere, while we endeavor to perform our neglected duties in this." And Mr. Johnson of California struck a chord which throbbed with a great instant instinctive response when he said: "I suggest that while we are building these castles in the air in Europe, we make our foundation at home firm. I insist, Mr. President, that it is time for an American policy. Must our whole thought, our whole energy, be devoted to Europe and perhaps Asia? I ask for an American policy." It was all a variation on the historic theme: What have we to do with abroad?

That theme was popular with Senators on the floor; and it was immensely popular with Senators off the floor. Further, it was advanced with special frequency by Senators belonging to the progressive wing of the Republican party, the wing from which at least a moderate sympathy with expanded internationalism might possibly have been expected. That sympathy is not forthcoming. The United States Senate might be willing to commit itself to some vague promises about arbitration; but, in its present mood, it will do its best to resist and to re-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ject all internationalism implying practical administrative day-by-day international cooperation for the common management of the common concerns of both sides of the earth.

WILLIAM HARD.

What Three Years Did to a Civilian

DOWN on the Mexican Border in July, 1916, a young "shave-tail" second lieutenant stood awkwardly at attention before the general commanding the camp. The young officer, a National Guardsman, pulled away, a few weeks before, from his law practice in Indianapolis, standing there, sweaty, dishevelled, unkempt, had come into the august presence of the general in order to ask him a question. He stood there, perhaps a minute, when the general looked up, and barked:

"What do you want, young man? Take off your hat and sit down!"

It was a perfectly proper question and a perfectly proper order. But the tone was brusque, at least. To the young man fresh from civilian life, it was insulting. He was not used to being insulted. While he wasn't the leading citizen of his home town, yet he was somebody there, at least to the extent of knowing all of the policemen and the head waiters.

The sharpness of the tone stunned him for an instant. Then he recovered far enough to say:

"I don't want a damn thing!" With which remark he turned upon his heel and walked out of the office. He was not used to being insulted, and he wasn't going to let that old codger get away with that rough stuff. This was the burden of his thoughts as he piddled across the parade ground, as fast as his legs could carry him.

More than two and one-half years later, this same officer, now a major in one of the staff departments, detailed in Washington, was being instructed, along with the other officers of the department, in the niceties of what is called close order drill. Because of his experience in the line of the army, the officer was acting as right guide of the company that was being drilled. And, having been a company commander, he knew close order drill. He knew where the right guide belonged.

But the drill master, another general officer, who probably hadn't drilled troops in twenty years, and who, though excellent as the head of the staff department in question, did not know how to drill recruits, was a little rusty. He said to the right guide as the platoon marched in formation:

"Don't you know where the right guide belongs?"

"Yes, sir," came the reply from the major, continuing to march along in the same place.

"Why don't you get there then?" the general inquired with a tone of rising impatience.

"I am there, sir," came the respectful response.

"Get on the other flank, and don't talk back!" thundered the general.

"Very well, sir," came from the major in even tones, as he suited the action to his words.

The two incidents have this significance: The first, early in the officer's military career, indicates the natural civilian reaction and resentment. The youngster was wholly wrong, but the tone used toward him made him completely rebellious, although he was only a second lieutenant.

The second incident, near the end of his military career, gives expression to the military reaction and habit of mind. This time our officer was wholly right, but in spite of the provocation he was respectful and obedient, though he had risen to the rank of major in the meantime.

His respectful attitude was not merely a matter of word respect either. He felt no diminution in his respect for the superior who had so incorrectly and unfairly disciplined him. In fact, when, after the drill was over, other officers came up to sympathize with him, and to say that he was right, he resented it.

"The commanding general is always right," he asserted shortly, and meant it.

Three years in the army had swallowed him up. The young lawyer civilian, who was used to telling the dear old world and everyone in it exactly where to go, was gone and in his place had come the automaton of the military machine.

It was a far cry from the first attitude of rebellion to the final attitude of resignation and submission. This officer in his three years was knocked about a good deal before he succumbed to the military point of view. Many a night he was confined to his quarters in camp for the violation of some camp or regimental order. He would forget to ask permission to leave the camp, perhaps; he would throw a cigarette stump on the ground; one day early in the game he wore a dark blue necktie, instead of the prescribed black one.

His "Sirs" just would not place themselves in all of the sentences he addressed to his military superiors. When the word fitted naturally into the middle or at the end of the sentence, it was not so difficult. But when the sentence involved the necessity of using that word initially, he just couldn't force it out. That doesn't seem difficult, as you read it: but just try it, now, using the third person at the same time:

"Sir, Lieutenant Jones desires to speak with his commanding officer," instead of "May I have a

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

word with you?" That initial "Sir," is a real hazard. It has choked the life out of many an otherwise respectable sentence. And you cannot go around it or through it; you must go right over it, with a clean drive.

Once when he was gallantly leading his infantry company in a big parade and review on the Mexican Border, he was sharply pulled out of the ceremony by the reviewing officer, because one of the buttons of his coat was unbuttoned. Not a main button, either, up and down the front: just what one might call a collateral button to a pocket. These experiences were humiliating and burned pretty much into him, and he profited by them only by the hardest sort of mental discipline.

But he did profit, so that when about a year ago, he was ordered to duty in Washington, coming from the field, he could thus acquit himself in the following conversation between him and the superior officer in Washington to whom he reported:

"Sir, Major Jones, late of the —th Division, reports for duty," he announced to the executive officer.

The executive officer looked up from his desk, and took in all of the details of the reporting officer's appearance: slender stature, shortness, irregular features, large horn spectacles, straggly blond hair and outstanding ears. In a semi-detached way and talking to the world in general as well as to the reporting officer, he questioned:

"Is this the Major Jones we ordered to duty here?"

"Yes, Sir."

"Well, I can tell by looking at you that we made a mistake!"

Pleasant remark, wasn't it? But the major merely replied tonelessly:

"Very well, sir."

He continued to stand there several minutes, and at last took a chance:

"Inasmuch as I am here, Sir, and regardless of the apparent mistake, doesn't the colonel [executive officer in question] have some windows that he desires washed or floors scrubbed?"

Now this colonel had a sense of humor. He thought that that was pretty good—and put him to work that day.

Three years in the army made its mark on this man. And now he is "honorably discharged, for the convenience of the government, his services being no longer needed." How much of that army imprint will stick with him and modify him upon his return to civilian life. For three years he has merged his individuality and subordinated his peculiarly individual twists of temperament. His eyes have reached so high and no higher. His mind has been grooved. I should like very much to say that he has been merely one cog in a vast machine. But I have a haunting memory that that phrase has been used before, so if I do finally use it I shall cut out the word "vast." For that passes all bounds of the bromidic. At any rate he has been only one egg in a crate. Perhaps perfectly fresh, but also perfectly like all the rest of the little eggs.

Can he come back? Did the three years of the army thing get him?

I don't think so. He can come back if he had any mental resiliency when he first went into the thing. He can come back to his old place in the scheme of things and bob right up again as individual and irrepressible as ever.

But he doesn't know it. He has a hesitancy about leaving the army with its unindividual but secure routine. As long as he is in the army, he has, at least, a job and a pay check coming in at the end of every month. It may not be much but it is certain, and at the end of a certain length of service he will be retired on part pay. His financial future is not glittering, but it is sure. And he wonders whether or not he had better take the chance. He realizes that his initiative is gone somewhat. He is not sure of himself, and hasn't the same old self-confidence.

That is his mental attitude at first blush, anyhow. And if he doesn't think through this first impression, and bring back his perspective, he may feel too discouraged to make the break. Hundreds and thousands of officers are now going through just such mental processes. Some will fall by the wayside, afraid of their first impressions. And, as the army can use them, there will they abide.

More of them, however, will think beyond their first impressions and will realize that they are not essentially different now from what they were when they went into the thing. They will realize that as a matter of fact the world has not gone forward much in business and professional ways during the war activity, and they are not, therefore, so far behind. They will see that there is no real reason for believing they cannot soon catch step with their old world, in their old town, among their old friends. The army has handled them with a curb bit, and the mechanics of the thing have held them in. Once given a free rein, however, as they had before, they will react with the same old physical and mental spirit. They themselves have not changed in two years or even three years. They are the same flesh and blood and mind and spirit in uniform that they were in civilian clothes. And when the stiff high-collared coat of the uniform gives way to the soft roll collars of civilian life, their sense of relief and freedom will more than

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

make up for any curbing of spirit during their temporary sojourn in ritualism.

The fact of the matter is that our temporary army doesn't really belong to the army at all. We are essentially civilian in training and desires. The soft roll collar belongs to and is a part of us. We ache to get back in it. And it does feel good when we get it on again. I know. I just put it on the other day.

And, by way of celebration, I desired greatly to spend one evening around in the old "stube" drinking a bottle of beer, eating a cheese sandwich and smoking an old pipe with some of the old crowd. No cock-tails. No high-balls. No liqueurs. No whiskey. No wine. Just beer. And only one bottle. Anyhow not more than two.

But that couldn't be. That had all been changed. The state had gone dry. The alternatives were buttermilk or hard liquor. Neither of which are sociable. But I was glad to get back, and even sans beer.

Than which no more positive proof of my joy at return to civilian status could be adduced. And the rest of you will feel the same way when you make the break.

FRED B. JOHNSON, *Major.*

National Organization by Industries

I. England

ECONOMIC necessity is a hard teacher but a patient one. Strife and waste have been painfully characteristic of our industrial system for the last century; and by taking thought we have done only a little to bring order and efficiency into its working. Now comes the war; and in four years we are shown in unmistakable terms that in world trade any industry has indifferent chances for survival which is not able to settle its disputes amicably and to buy its material and distribute its goods more cooperatively. England especially felt the force of this necessity. And in England we see the logic of the idea of a national joint organization within each industry first appreciated and applied.

The idea of a national industrial organization, as it is developing there, is simple enough. It requires that each industry both on the side of the employers and of the employees shall be strongly organized, and that out of these bodies shall be created a unified national industrial or trade council. Upon this jointly representative body devolves responsibility for most of the important decisions concerning the conduct of the industry. As it is being put into practice the Industrial Council idea includes four outstanding characteristics which help to explain not only its full content but the reasons for its extension into nearly twenty-five industries.

I. The National Industrial Council is formed under a standing agreement. This agreement is a permanent instrument; it is not a contract terminating on a specified date. It is rather a constitution, a body of basic law governing the scope and method of joint procedure. In this respect, it is analogous rather to the American "protocols of permanent peace" than to the collective bargain. This does not mean any loss of flexibility in determining labor standards; it simply assures that demands for changes will be considered with a minimum of interruption of work and with a maximum use of orderly parliamentary procedure.

II. The Council and all agencies subsequently created under it recognize flatly in their composition the principle of equal representation for the two parties—organized employers and organized workers. Far from there being any question about the legitimacy or value of organization on either side, it is seen to be essential to any integrated, intelligently conceived plan. Indeed, so necessary is it for the success of the larger purposes of the Council idea that the representation shall reflect the entire industry, that some form of enforced membership in employers' and workers' organization is seriously proposed. The pottery industry, which was the first to assemble under the Council idea, said explicitly that either

> "(a) the State should give the force of law to the determinations of a joint committee . . . or
>
> "(b) Membership in Trade Associations and Trade Unions should be compulsory by law on all eligible for membership."

This demand is significant, whether or not it is immediately acted upon. For it shows that both sides when partially organized recognize the necessity of complete integration; and that necessity will now be more and more widely seen and inclusive membership on both sides enforced by the pressure of the situation.

III. As a necessary attendant of this full joint representation is the power to decide upon many more matters than the usual "wages, hours and conditions." Inevitably, as both sides have the capacity and the power which a comprehensive industrial association brings, they will ask the right to confer over a wide range of problems. Spe-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

cifically the English plan contemplates consideration jointly of methods of conference and shared responsibility, methods of settling disputes, training, research, introduction of improvements, proposed legislation and the like. This widened basis of negotiation has two values; the one educational for managers and workers concerning their common problems, the other more directly practical since it is becoming clear to the most reluctant that all the details of shop management which affect the workers are only settled satisfactorily—are only settled in a way that makes harmonious operation possible—when the workers are consulted regarding the acceptance of those details. In a word, it is literally true that there is no real efficiency in the absence of the conscious voluntary assent of the workers to all the terms and conditions of the work. Hence the extension of the conference method is hopefully regarded as meaning a better spirit and a more intelligent cooperation in carrying on shop affairs.

IV. There is the value in the Council plan that it does not desire to centralize all power and authority. It seeks deliberately to get district, local and shop groups to undertake responsibility for problems relating primarily to those smaller groupings. The plan invites decentralization. Its supporters realize that it must, if the support and interest of the individual workers are to be permanently secured. In other words, the principle of function is adopted, and to each body is awarded jurisdiction over those matters concerning which it, and it alone, is informed, specially interested and competent to decide.

The essence, therefore, of this idea is that there shall be by industries, national bodies composed of members equally from the employing and laboring interests, bodies operating under a permanent charter with wide powers over the trade but delegating to district and local groups, similarly composed, power of decision and enforcement within the local jurisdictions.

Clearly such a plan did not originate spontaneously with one person; nor did it get under way wholly by virtue of its inherent wisdom. There has been a play of minds and forces to bring the idea into practical politics; several urgent reasons combine to make it acceptable. Consideration of these is useful because it throws additional light upon the scope and intention of the idea itself. The urgency of the reasons lies, as I have intimated, in the nature of historic economic forces which are now dominant in England. Under this urgency the adoption of the Industrial Council methods becomes the virtually inevitable next step.

England wants and needs high productivity. She cannot get it with industrial conflict, ca-canny, sabotage, limitation of output and strikes, rampant throughout the land. She cannot get it under competition which ignores quality, which creates high charges for competitive selling abroad, which allows the least efficient manufacturers to dictate the terms on which an entire industry shall employ its workers. In other words, the demand for large output and low unit costs creates the first reason for embodying this idea.

More particularly the Councils promise, also, to offer a peaceful conference method of adjusting differences. This is more economical; it is more sensible; if properly used, the method may prove more satisfactory and more fruitful for all parties. The workers, if they find that their share in control is a vital and increasing share, will be disposed to favor negotiation instead of strikes.

Again, an Industrial Council can eliminate the worst forms of competition. It can help to standardize styles, parts and designs to a reasonable degree. It can begin to create an opinion which will eventuate in the abolition of private monopoly in raw materials and in patent rights. It can assure that the competition shall be for quality of goods, and not for mere cheapness of price at the expense of the human standards of the industry. That is, it can level up and approximately equalize the conditions and terms of employment. This in itself will remove some of the gravest abuses of human exploitation and sweating.

And, finally, upon the coherent organization of an industry on a national scale depends the most efficient and economical prosecution of its foreign trade. It is expensive and difficult to know and develop foreign markets; for individual manufacturers to compete in this field is increasingly recognized as an undue and unnecessary tax upon their resources. This applies with equal force to the work of buying raw material in foreign markets and to the selling of finished goods. A unified front abroad is as necessary to successful enterprise today as "free competition" was thought to be twenty-five years ago.

With all this to be said of the economic forces making for national industrial organization, it is not strange that when the sub-committee of the Reconstruction Committee on "relations between employers and employed" brought in the now famous Whitley Report, the English government was not long in officially enforcing its recommendations, as outlined above; and in entrusting to the Minister of Labor the work of establishing Councils in such industries as seemed ready for them. The result of this reference has been the setting up of joint bodies in over twenty industries representing more than two and a half million workers. Organization is under way in at least a dozen more, including the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

important woolen industry. The prospects are good that within the government departments the creation of representative bodies in conformance with the Whitley plan will be undertaken. The government has officially endorsed this step, although apparently less because of its desire than because of irresistible public pressure.

The situation on the railroads requires special mention since the National Union of Railwaymen in its 1918 annual meeting said that "the scheme laid down in the Whitley Report does not sufficiently safeguard the interests of Labor, and it instructs the Executive Committee to set up machinery of negotiation such as will provide for the complete recognition" of the unions. Specifically, the railway workers are demanding representation on railroad directorates. They anticipate government ownership and it is their intention to secure representation on the National Directorate of the railroads. This, of course, would ultimately result in a nationally owned, democratically operated railroad guild. In other words, the railway workers see farther ahead, and are in a position to act on their vision because of their strategic power in the community, their intelligent leadership and their knowledge of what they believe to be the socially most desirable form of industrial government.

I have no desire to overpaint the picture, nor to speak in glowing terms of a movement which I recognize has real dangers for a wise social control. I desire rather to estimate the strength of a tendency and of the forces behind it; and then to evaluate it critically. I am not here considering this development in its relation to America; but it is not amiss to point out how closely the reasons for the activity of this tendency as they exist in England are duplicated in the United States. Movements deriving from common causes are likely to show common characteristics. This is one reason why this development is a matter of peculiar concern to us in this country. And this is also the reason why we can afford to be exceptionally critical of the idea before economic necessity forces upon us an idea which is perhaps not wholly adapted nor sufficiently evolved to be an efficient social instrument.

There are, I believe, several criticisms to be made of the idea as the Whitley Report states it; and as it is being initially attempted.

There is, first, no recognition of an active public interest in the deliberations of the Council. Only two of the parties are given voice—the employer and the worker. Neither the direct consumer nor the general community interest is represented. If the idea of representation of divergent interests is to be applied, it should be consistently applied; and not leave the important consumers' and the public's regulative interests ignored and without voice. If adjustment is to be reached by securing a balance of forces—by securing a temporary equilibrium of opposed interests—the likelihood of a stable and equitable adjustment is greatest when every possibly disturbing factor, every vital interest, is allowed free expression and consideration. There is the danger, as the Fabians point out, "of exploitation of the community by combinations of a trust character whose objects might include the forcing up of prices."

Second, there is not—perhaps there could not be in a body of basic laws—any explicit recognition that standards of a "fair" day's work and a "fair" day's pay are necessarily progressive and not static standards. Needless misunderstanding and ill will arise in industry through the present failure of one side or the other to see that "reasonableness," "just compensation," and "efficient workmanship" are concepts as relative as the term "nearness" when applied to the stars. Industrial constitutions will be in danger of annihilation if employers, for example, do not realize that the workers' demands are not necessarily going to stop at some fixed point. Their desire for shorter hours, higher earnings, better shop conditions, for more voice in controlling price and output, promises to assert itself for some time; and if in that situation the time arrives when to satisfy the claims of the head and hand workers there must come a shift in the proportion of the total income which goes to capital holders, it must be understood that we are facing a fluid, transitional economic era. Either the workers of the head and hand will assume fuller and fuller control of industry by the orderly means which these Councils provide; or they will get it in some other way. And I do not get the sense, in reading the Whitley document, of any adequate appreciation by its authors that the present underlying basis of relationship between employers and workers with the present private ownership of capital, and the present direction of productive energies by the holders of credit, is itself extremely unstable and on its way to changes not clearly seen by any of us.

In the third place, as the English radicals of the left have pointed out, the Council scheme definitely fails to include the purchase and allocation of raw materials as one of the matters for joint determination. As an immediate proposition, that omission is probably politic and discreet. But no one can watch the increasing role which transportation, coal, iron, food, cotton, wool, copper, hides and rubber—to mention only some of the most obvious commodities—play in international affairs and in industrial destinies, without getting an uncomfortable sense that to consider industrial relations with-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

out considering where the raw material is coming from, how much it costs, where it is going and what use is to be made of it, is like trying to solve an equation in which a majority of the factors are unknown. Sooner or later—and sooner rather than later if the League of Nations ventures to exert control over any economic matters—there will come from the workers an irresistible demand to be admitted to deliberations where decisions affecting raw materials are being made. And with that slight but far reaching addition to the statement of joint powers will come an accumulation of responsibility and power for the Council which will raise it to a place of determining influence in industry. When jurisdiction does extend to raw materials, we can begin to envisage a gradual and necessary coming together of Councils into what will eventually be a complete National Industrial Parliament. Under this increased coordination it will be possible to achieve a really scientific control of production in the public interest—a control for the purpose of assuring that the real demand shall be supplied, no more and no less, and that the supply shall be of honest goods, well made and sensibly distributed.

But such considerations carry us farther afield than it is yet necessary or possible to go. If I have indicated the rise and growth of a significant economic tendency and suggested how by the use of intelligent control the tendency can be made more fully amenable to human purposes, it is sufficient. The National Industrial Council stands, I believe, as a substantial milestone on the way toward a real, organic, inclusive industrial democracy. Its defects are only the defects of its virtues—virtues of immediate availability. As an educational and cohesive force in the world of economic affairs it is unquestionably the most important departure since the Rochdale weavers gave the world the cooperative movement.

ORDWAY TEAD.

The Defeat of John Ruskin

ON February 8th of this year falls the hundredth anniversary of John Ruskin's birth. Countless articles will doubtless appear in countless journals and reviews, "estimating" his work and influence, and many discourses will be delivered from pulpit and platform, telling of what he did for art and social life. Favorite passages will be quoted, and paeans of praise will be raised in honor of the man who saw art as part of life and political economy as a function of the whole of man. Many copies of his works will be bought, and most of them will be added to shelves that are already heavily encumbered with unread books. The man who thought of life only in terms of living will have his due remembrance as one of the illustrious dead. I have in the few following words no desire to estimate Ruskin, nor do I wish to attempt the more profitable and far more difficult activity of understanding him. Understanding is, indeed, too difficult, and "estimating" is too easy. Here I shall be concerned only with the tragedy of Ruskin, the typical tragedy of the man who believes that the truth will set you free and who, despite the agony born of doubt, continues to believe himself the minister of that truth. The man who gets beyond the agony of doubt may live and die in the triumph of the spirit, and his tragedy, like that of Buddha and Francis and countless other heroes and heroines of transcendence and ecstasy, will be a historic tragedy. They die glorified and aureoled, but the radiance that lives after them is capitalized by their disciples and sold at so much per candle-power. The heat and light wrought by their spiritual conflicts turn the wheels of a more material industry, and illumine other chambers than those of the heart.

The tragedy of Ruskin was a double tragedy, for his failure was immediate as well as ultimate. He bitterly recognized that people would read him because he had the gift of gab, and because he could twist sonorous strings of beautiful words. He was well aware that little groups of serious thinkers would struggle thoughtfully with difficult passages, and, having solved them, would go forth in the conviction that he had not lived in vain, nor they either. But it was not for such ends as these that Ruskin had agonized. He had sweated blood in searching out the truth. Each time that he believed himself to have found one of its jewels, he had rushed forth eager to display it and to make the world partakers of his new-found wealth. He wanted people to see in Turner a revelation of the beauty of nature. He had hoped to open their eyes and to make them value the revelation, and he sought to enrich their lives by making them active participants in it. His books were books of rapturous exposition that should lead men deeper into the understanding of the splendor that is the body of nature and the glory that is its soul. He found the art appreciation of his time to be, almost entirely, a concern with the chasm of beauty, an indulgence for one's leisure moments, an affair essentially of the leisure classes. He thought that beauty was the birthright

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of all men, and that the greater part of mankind were being defrauded of their rights. He soon came to see that the bitterest enemy to beauty in life was the factory system and the modern industrial organization; and almost all the years of his maturer life were spent in a losing warfare against this monster. The industrialism which made the slum horrors of the manufacturing towns, while it was piling up within the palaces of the exploiters the useless trophies of an older order when beauty came recurrently to birth, was to Ruskin the ultimate confusion of right living, and this he ceaselessly fought. In his youth he had attempted poetry, but he soon discovered that his strength lay not in creation, but in exposition and in preaching, and so his later works were never ends in themselves, never things to be read for their pretty phrases, for they contained pretty phrases only because these phrases had behind them the passionate desire to make a better world. Ruskin found that the phrases were appreciated widely, but that the thoughts went by the board, and in the evening of his days, the days when with an instrument perfectly tempered, he wrote the limpid sentences of Praeterita, he knew that he was not of the world in which he lived, that he perhaps had never been of it.

Ruskin was a critic, but not a critic for the sake of criticism. He was a man with very definite convictions concerning things as they ought to be and as they were not, and he proceeded strenuously to set them right. From earliest childhood he was accustomed to work, and he was accustomed, within the limits of a narrow religion and an implicit obedience, to get certain experiences for himself. He had all the conditions of an assured conviction, which gave to him self-reliance, and he had besides a genuine critical temper, a vigorous determination to understand things wholly. Of course he could not understand things wholly, but he went in many ways beyond those of his time, and this he did because he was resolved to have intelligible meanings for his words.

Most men when they are asked the meaning of a word will look for it in the dictionary. They have a rather naive belief that words mean what they do because the dictionary says so. But there are other, rare ones, who know, not only as a matter of mere fact but vitally also, that words mean what they do in the dictionary because they mean those things in use. These people ordinarily use a dictionary, but in extraordinary cases they make a dictionary. It is their firm resolve to find meanings in their experience that are genuinely intelligible, and if the dictionaries or the text-books, which are but dictionaries of propositions, do not give meanings which correspond to what they see, they make new definitions of their own. The honest critic will not compromise on meanings that to him are wrong or unintelligible, but he will continue to the end the search for genuine ones. The quest is ended only when intelligibility is found.

Unfortunately the most honest critical mind is limited by prejudices, and by inadequacies of outlook and of character. Ruskin started out with certainties in many places where afterwards uncertainties displaced them, but his purpose at all times was honest. He really tried to understand and never willingly took bad coin for good, even though, as he himself came to know, he had often been taken in. Impetuous convictions, and a kind of piety, long kept him in the bondage of unexamined truths, but the essential iconoclasm and earnestness of search he had. He was a man whom narrow bringing-up and conventional education could maim but could not ruin, for he was bent on recreating his categories from experience, and he would not willingly accept experience within the procrustean limits of predetermined categories. He was mad no doubt, in his assurance and in his doubts as well, but his madness was a noble thing and not a submissive stupidity.

Ruskin was a neurotic and he was honest, than which no worse fate is possible to man. He had a vision and his honesty compelled him to live in accord with it. Many men have some real beliefs, but most of them are far too clever to allow to these beliefs any part or function in the day's work. These men are the politicians of life, and to them belong the kingdoms of the earth. Others are the seekers after truth, those who reject the compromises of convenience and advantage, and follow the lead of what, to them, is evidence. Among these are the few who are privileged or fated to believe that faith moves mountains. Sometimes, indeed, it does, but the moved mountain is almost never stable, and after a little while, and in most cases, it comes rocking back, to crush the over-enthusiastic disturber. The politician often will admit the mountain to be in the way. In fact he may go further and admit that, in part at least, it is not as sound a mountain as it seems, that it is indeed mostly a great heap of rubbish; but none the less he recommends that if one must get to the other side, a way around it may be found. Meanwhile the heap of rubbish grows and grows. Perhaps it grows lopsided and threatens to fall. The seeker after truth cries in agony, "The mountain must be moved," but the politicians, terrified, reply, "Don't touch the mountain, or at most trim it a little. Pile the rubbish with more care. A little more on this side will balance the excess upon the other, and so the mountain will not fall." And the politicians prevail.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The heap keeps growing higher and higher, and, in time, the seeker after truth dies, and the politicians gather and with words of praise give him a splendid burial in the heap of rubbish.

And the time comes when even the adroitness of the politicians cannot prevent the toppling of the mountain, and then, when it comes hurtling down, the half forgotten tomb of the seeker after truth is laid bare. And the people stand about the tomb and marvel and they say, "What a wise man he was, for did he not tell us long ago that the mountain could not stand?" And so they have more ceremonies, more splendid than before, and they seek out another mountain of rubbish and bury him once again.

This is the great historic tragedy of the truth-seeker, that he should be buried with honor by his enemies and that he should find his tomb within the rubbish heap which he has tried to move with faith and works. So is Jesus honored by the princes of the church and of the state and of the market place. So was the humility of Francis conserved in the pride of the mendicant orders, and so was Ruskin celebrated in the disquisition of aesthetes and in the higher prices paid for Tintoretto and Fra Angelico.

Of course the seeker after truth is not without his share in the responsibility. Even though the mountain be a heap of rubbish it is a real heap, and has a meaning in the world. Ruskin like other seers was honest, but he was mad and had the simple faith that the truth would set you free. And therein he ignored the lie that lives with truth at the heart of things. The neurotic is unable to evaluate the reality of that which is unreal to his experience. He cannot rightfully estimate the world's needs. The tragedy of the politician is to be hoisted with his own petard, to find his own cunning and adaptability recoil upon him, but the personal tragedy of the seeker after truth is to find that the world-context of his own passionate faith remains unknown to him, and therefore he becomes enmeshed, bewildered, and in the end strangled by the unknown which was to him a lie only, but which was only in part a lie, and which, to his undoing, his own half-truth ignored.

LEO STEIN.

FRAMES

Brown window-sill, you hold my all of skies,
And all I know of springing year and fall,
And everything of earth that greets my eyes—
Brown window-sill, how can you hold it all!

Gray walls, my days are bound within your hold,
Cast there and lost like pebbles in a sea;
And all my thought is squared to fit your mold—
Gray wall, how mighty is your masonry!

HAZEL HALL.

Chicago Marks Time

IN Austria the people will soon be eating Hoover food. In Russia the Bolsheviki are talking business with the Allies. In England labor is in upheaval. In Paris Clemenceau hangs his hat on the same hat-rack with Wilson and sits planning a new map of the world. But all this progress and change and readjustment has made no real dint on the present mood of Chicago. Chicago, as the casual visitor sees it, is still conscientiously fighting the war.

Now that the world is laid open on the operating table, it is a queer thing to move around Chicago and find that discussion is generally impaled on the Hun. Not everywhere. In some places minds have caught the move of events and are churning the way water churns when the boat reverses its course. But the large, the crude, generalization, enforces itself. Chicago is not thinking of tomorrow. It has imprinted on today's page the offset of its passionate, serious yesterday. Aware as it is of Wilson's excursion to Europe, apprehensive as it is about the Bolsheviki, it is still busy fighting the war.

The town is no longer a Progressive town in its polite table-talk. Among the well fed "boorgoui" there were a few radicals who sat through every session of the Mooney convention and now really know why there are to be labor candidates in every ward. But among the well fed—and how superlatively well fed these war-worn Chicagoans are—there is a steady throbbing of the tribal tom-tom. A promising Progressive past has merged into an anti-Wilson, pro-Anglican, super-patriotic present. And there is a positive stultification or suspension of the international mind. Why is it? "Because," says one intelligent person, "because this is a *serious* place. Chicago really slaved for the war. It put into it every ounce of pressure, every last drop of vitality, that the workers possessed. Liberty loan, Red Cross, 'war work'—in general it drained our veins. And now we are dazed by the sudden change. We find ourselves exhausted, uninspired, and the business of discussing international adjustment has fallen to others. The people who lay back during the war, or who weren't really strong for it—they are the people who are ready for the present phase. The rest of us are out of it, and for a long time."

War-weariness? But this war-weariness shows itself in certain aggressive and spirited ways. These war-weary are impatient and perverse. They are utterly reluctant to hear any side but their own. Like statesmen who decline to discuss their aims, they long ago adopted the convenient attitude that victory was an end in itself, and they do not now

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

propose to be disturbed in that easy, natural persuasion. If anyone wishes to speak to them, it must be along their own lines. It is only the brave, the exceptional, who are genuinely ready to have Allied victory and the consequences of Allied victory clearly scrutinized. The mere proposal that a person like Jane Addams be allowed to speak is enough to throw certain groups of the boorgoui into convulsions. The well fed boorgoui have lived imaginatively with France and England for four years. Although still intact in fortune and family for the most part, they are prepared to resent anyone and everyone who did not "play the game." That game is not so much a game of super-taxation as super-emotion. The super-emotion is likely to surge up on any excuse. Miss Addams evokes it, also Mr. Creel or Mr. Wilson or the Sinn Feiners or the Bolsheviki. These good people became almost apoplectic at the suggestion that there is any problem involved in the freedom of the seas.

Part of it goes back to the permanent cloud that rests on prosperous Chicago. This is the cloud cast by the financial and commercial power that rests with a small oligarchy no longer composed of adventurous pioneers but composed of second- and third-generation, second- and third-hand men and women. The financial and commercial insiders in Chicago are shockingly mediocre in temperament, mind and morale. No one outside their immediate periphery speaks well of them. They are governed to a dangerous extent by representatives and attorneys of a peculiarly sordid character, and a few tough and energetic newcomers among them have an unwholesome degree of power. All the suspicions that were inculcated in Chicago by early labor troubles and the Anarchist riot have been developed in this small autocracy to the extent of a municipal neurosis, and the daily papers of Chicago are so much under the thumb of the autocracy that public opinion is deprived of the chance to clean and renew itself in the stream of fresh events. Fresh events are not reflected in the Chicago newspapers—and the only other periodicals outside Poetry, as one citizen complains, are the Red Book, the Blue Book and the Breeders' Gazette.

For a time it looked as if Roosevelt might purge Chicago. He was pioneer enough and national enough to rally to him the buoyant and robust impulses in youthful Chicago. But his defeats in 1912 and 1916 deprived his responsive followers of a tolerably corrective influence. And the victory of Thompson as mayor drove all but a few Progressives into a recalcitrant and war-enforcing attitude which favors everything static and reactionary.

Far outside the reactionaries and the demoralized Progressives there rises the red star of the Labor party. This star is ignored by the oligarchic press inside the loop. In the murk of the loop it is probably not seriously visible. But it represents as lively a political consciousness as ever sprang out of dissatisfied lives in America. Everything that is critical or unstable or disinherited or radical is invited to a new coherence and a new articulation in this party, and the terms of coherence and articulation are sufficiently inclusive and drastic to enlist all the radical domestic will that was transmitted or suppressed during the war. The lessons of the Russian Revolution must have seemed quite shocking to the nervous blacklisters employed by the Military Intelligence but those very lessons gave rare stimulus to the Mooney convention that assembled in Chicago the middle of January. That convention, large, responsible and representative, clearly indicated the stiff temper of the left wing of labor in Chicago. There the war was still being fought, also, but it was the war for economic democracy that was only interrupted by the nationalistic struggle in Europe.

It is quite unlikely that bourgeois Chicago will go to the support of its labor candidate for mayor. The mind of the city is much too deeply imbedded in timid respectability. But already there is some hope that bourgeois intelligence will be directed to the problems of the League of Nations, in spite of the thick pall of journalistic obscurantism that drenches the city. Miss Addams has arrived at the point of feeding into the beaks of the feebler birds of her town the simple pap that was prepared for small rural audiences in outlying districts. The meal has to be specially predigested for them, but they take to it fairly eagerly in the end. This does not apply to the less municipalized minds of the prosperous Jewish community on the South side. That important community has cosmopolitan traditions. It follows every stage of the world settlement with an instinctive realism, and it gives to Woodrow Wilson an admiration founded on the belief that he is playing his hand coolly and wisely for a genuine society of nations.

The returning soldiers will probably leaven the mind of Chicago. "I wouldn't take a fortune for my experience, and I wouldn't give ten cents for another like it"—that is the verdict of many a man quitting his khaki. A job of work had to be done. It is done. Next! This is a mood quite different from the mood of the civilian. It pretends to no romance but it is not unlikely to create more romance in the end. For it looks to a new brand of experience, not uniform and ticketed and numbered. And in that it should instruct Chicago, for it has a mind.

F. H.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A COMMUNICATION

The Y. M. C. A. in France

I DON'T mind saying at the outset, that I don't like the Y. M. C. A. in France. In fact, after the experiences of the past several months, when truth and unadorned honesty of mind and speech have become even more desirable in the eyes of an ordinary soldier exile, I feel that I should make known my bias at the very outset of the discussion. I do not like hypocrisy—and I suspect the Y. M. C. A. strongly of it. I resent being uplifted—and the Y. M. C. A. has tried to uplift me. I hate condescension—and I have yet to read an article about the "Y" that is free from it, or to meet with a Red Triangle representative who has, to all outward appearances at least, quite consoled himself for his enormous sacrifice of dignity before the exigencies of service here. I am biased. I feel that more "bunk" about the Y. M. C. A. has been spread abroad over the face of the land, more "sweetness and light" and Y. M. C. A. Godliness than I can stand. And then today came the climax.

It was an article, a typical Y. M. C. A. article in the Saturday Evening Post for September 7, 1918, page 26, and it was written by Maude Radford Warren. The magazine came to me through the American Red Cross. Here is the paragraph:

"Until I came to France to work under the Y. M. C. A., I had never guessed how much the "Y" means to the soldier. As one does at home I had taken its functions for granted; it was just a slogan for me, meaning gymnastics, lectures, and sermons, and rooms for social intercourse. But over here—I only voice the word of hundreds of soldiers who have spoken to me when I say that *without the Y. M. C. A. we could not win the war, and at the same time send our soldiers back to be useful citizens.*"

That did the business. One of the ambulance drivers gathered the magazine to him and rose to his feet. "Listen fellows," he yelled. The section became quiet. Banjos and mandolins ceased their plank-a-plink. A discussion of peace and war at one end of the billet was hushed momentarily. All eyes turned expectantly, curiously, toward the speaker, and then he read that paragraph aloud. When he had done, there was a moment of dazed, utter silence. Then,—"Well—I'll be damned!" "The nerve." "Of all the insults!" "Wow! Couldn't win the war!"—"nor go back home decent!" A chorus of derisive voices filled the billet with clamor. No, the Y. M. C. A. is not a popular institution with the thirty-two men of at least one Ambulance Section here in France, men who have driven cars into the lanes of battle from the Argonne to the Meuse and Verdun, from the red horror of Consenvoye Road to the reaches of strange, hashed mortar and timber that was Thiaucourt.

A small, a negligible group? Perhaps. If it were not representative, it might be. There is the rub. That small group represents the thousands of men of at least one Division and parts of half a dozen others, for these Ambulance drivers have come into contact with the doughboys of nearly every division in the "Northwest of Verdun" reports.

Let's analyze the attitude of these thirty-two men. It will be an illuminating performance, and will explain that strange unanimity of opinion. For these men are all hostile toward the Y. M. C. A. When they get back they are going to give voice to their hostility in vigorous terms. They hold the entire organization in contempt. In this I am no partisan. I am merely chronicling an attitude. Not a sane attitude, not a generous attitude for these thirty odd men to hold? However, that is their frame of mind, and what are you going to do about it? Perhaps understanding it may help. You may say that they are not qualified to judge. I reply that the section includes university men from at least three states, teachers, etc.

Their attitude toward the "Y" is based upon a series of concrete happenings. The first I shall cite to show the feeling toward the organization that we have found all over the front. A driver in our Section ran across the Divisional Y. M. C. A. Secretary and found the man to be an old acquaintance. The Secretary gave the driver a carton of Home Run Cigarettes, which he took, not with the intention of smoking them himself, but because he knew he could give them away to men at the front. He had plenty of smokes of his own. About a week later this same driver was up at the front. It was shortly after midnight, and the interminable traffic had at last debouched to the ammunition caches, leaving the ambulance free to continue its journey toward the A. P. Out of the dark strode a group of doughboys, their rifles slung. One called to the Ambulance man—"Say, Buddy, got anything to smoke?" The driver bethought him of the carton of "Home Runs," and fished it out from under the seat. "They're only Home Runs," he remarked. "Thanks," said a soldier, taking the box. "Don't thank me," replied the driver, "This is on the Y. M. C. A." The doughboy heard only the last part of the sentence. He turned back to the ambulance.

"Say, Buddy, what's the use of kiddin' us?"

The next affair will throw additional light on the first. It took place up near Cumières, during the morning of September 26, 1918, when the great offensive opened up along the Meuse above Verdun. The Division had been in the line for more than two weeks. It had rained every single day, every single night. The soldiers lived in mud to their ankles. The trenches were like irrigation ditches. Every one was wet, and cold, and unspeakably miserable. The men's attitude along the roadside trenches had gone from disgust and discomfort to weariness and savage temper. And ever the cold, endless, gray rain of September drizzled down upon them out of ashen skies. One of their officers said on the morning of the 26th, after the attack had been launched and while he was on the way to Glorieux Hospital at Verdun: "God help the Huns. The boys have not been dry or comfortable in a fortnight."

The ambulance came to the Dressing Station. Nearby another vehicle had drawn up. The walking wounded were filtered back to the little ruined hut, where the Red Cross flag hung limp under the rain. The other vehicle contained a Y. M. C. A. man, and he had a load of cigarettes, chocolate, candy, etc. He set up shop and got

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ready for business. Some doughboys paused on their way to the rear and their faces lighted up. Something to eat, and to smoke! One asked for some cigarettes. The "Y" man handed them out. "They'll cost you ——." He named the price. The soldier looked at the "Y" man a minute. "Hell, we were in the trenches on pay day," he said. The "Y" man took the cigarettes back. A machine driven by an American Red Cross man came up. The man descended. "Don't you know," said he to the "Y" man, "don't you know you're forbidden to sell stuff up in the lines. You can give it away. You can't sell it here." Whereupon the "Y" man began to pack up. "How much is your stuff worth?" asked the R. C. man. The other told him. "All right," said the R. C. man, "I'll buy it for distribution." And he did, afterward turning to the doughboys and giving the stuff away.

That's a true story. The Ambulance man is right here in the section and he witnessed the whole affair. But the "Y" *has* to sell its goods, replies the sustainer of that organization. It's the official army canteen, named by General Pershing. Does it have to try to sell things at the front, where wet, weary and wounded doughboys, who are trudging back to the Dressing Station, always broke, are to insure its "business basis." Or was I mistaken when I thought that the "Y" raised popular subscriptions over there at home?

And now comes another episode, somewhat different, for it portrays the "spirit" of service of which we heard so much in connection with the Y. M. C. A.

We had been at Verdun nearly two months, working day and night much of the time. Often all of the machines were out at once. We ran out of writing paper and envelopes. All over the sector, wherever our machines were called to duty, word was passed to be on the alert for writing paper and envelopes. Nothing, absolutely nothing, outside of the physical well-being of the soldier, is so essential as letters if his morale is to be kept up. Our efforts were futile. It seemed that we couldn't discover an envelope or a sheet of paper in the whole country-side. So, one day, the Lieutenant and I climbed into his car and we went to Bar-le-Duc to see if we could get some paper. It was a ride of nearly fifty kilos each way—but we were out of paper.

Upon arriving in the city, I went into the Y. M. C. A. A "Y" man was selling cigarettes and cigars, and handing out writing paper. Behind him on the shelf there was a whole stack of the latter. I got in line and, my turn arriving, I bought some cigarettes and asked for paper and envelopes. He gave me three sheets. I explained all about the fellows working up there at Verdun, how they were all out of paper and envelopes, how there were only thirty-two of them, how they wanted to write home, how I had driven all the way down from Verdun—and couldn't he give me some more paper? He gave me twenty sheets. Then I asked him outright for a handful of paper. He declared it had to be given to the boys in Bar-le-Duc. Bar-le-Duc! where there was a stationery store on practically every main street! Bar-le-Duc—where soldiers were practically all possessed of money!

I asked him where I might find the Secretary for the "Y" in the city, to see if I could prevail upon the latter to give me paper and envelopes. He told me to go upstairs and I might find the man I sought. I went. The first office at whose door I knocked was silent. I tried the handle. Locked. So was the door to the next room. But the door leading to the third room was slightly ajar, and I walked in and looked about.

An American woman in a uniform, stood near the window, reading a letter. She looked up. "I beg your pardon," I said, "but when will the Secretary be in?" She looked me up and down. I was unshaven, and covered with mud from the long ride. I had a pair of rubber boots on that were brown with the clay of Verdun and its shattered hills. I suppose I didn't look quite like the soldier on leave as she had known him. Then she spoke. Her voice was rich, low, marvellously modulated, and bespoke generations of culture. "I am sure I don't know!" was what she said. I told my tale of woe. I must have writing paper. The human situation passed right below her consciousness. Could she tell me where the "Y" storehouse for the city was? She gave a helpless shrug at my persistence. "I'm *sure* I don't know," she reiterated. "Oh, I beg your pardon for troubling you," I said, "I thought someone might know." And I returned to the dispenser of cigarettes.

He was all sold out now. The line had dwindled away. "Nobody upstairs," I told him. "Can I have what's left of the paper and envelopes?" It was impossible. I'd have to get an order from the Secretary. Suppose I came back at five o'clock. But I had to leave for the front in half an hour. "I'm very sorry," he said. So I went out and fished out some change I had left, and bought two boxes of stationery with it.

Another incident. This one at Ambly-sur-Meuse. An Ambulance pulled up before the Y. M. C. A. canteen. The driver and his alternate had been working all day, evacuating. They hadn't even stopped for dinner, so they decided to buy some cookies to tide over till mess time. The door was shut. The driver walked up and turned the knob. The door was opened from the inside and a "Y" man appeared. "What organization?" he demanded. "Ambulance Section—we want to buy something to eat," said the driver.

"You ambulance men want everything," replied the "Y" man. "Why don't you give the men who are in the lines a chance to buy something?" And he tried to shut the door. This reply was made to men who had been driving with wounded more than five weeks from Septsarges, Dannevoux, Gercourt and Consenvoye, and at a time when French military critics declared that the most stubborn and bloody struggle of the entire battlefront was to be witnessed within that sector west of the Meuse! Blind again!

Next, three of our cars were ordered to Germany, carrying nurses from Toul to Trèves. It was after the armistice, of course, and the day after that city on the Moselle had been taken over by the 3rd Army. A driver went into the Y. M. C. A. canteen at Toul Base Hospital and purchased a carton of cigarettes. Just outside Metz, while the train was halted to allow a car to catch up, the driver opened his carton to get a cigarette. Out fell a card with words printed upon it to this effect:

"These cigarettes are not to be sold. They are for free distribution. Donation of Mrs. ——, and a woman's name and address was written under the print. Evidently the "Y" stock-inspectors had been lax!

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

At Commercy the other night, we had a show. It was given under the auspices of the Y. M. C. A. and as post-war activities have been pretty monotonous for the soldier over here, there was a veritable multitude on hand when the doors were opened. As usual, it was pouring rain. I believe it rains more in France than it did when Noah embarked. At any rate the theatre with its lights and warmth, looked decidedly enticing. Inside of about ten minutes the place was jammed, packed to the doors, and more than fifty doughboys were unable to get in. Appeared then a "Y" man. He shooed the squatters out of the doorway, so that he might close it. "We have to close the doors so that the picture may be seen. There will be another show in an hour, just as soon as this one is over. Better stick around. Won't take long, and you'll get a good seat by being first."

"All right," said the soldiers; and they proceeded to follow his suggestion and "stick around." The rain was coming down now in torrents, and, as all the world now knows, army slickers are a fiction; but the prospects of seeing a show and being quit of monotony were alluring. The hour passed. The crowd inside began to come out. The group outside, now numbering more than a hundred, started to go in. The "Y" man appeared in the doorway again. "Only one show to-night, one show. No more pictures tonight," he cried to the men who had been standing in the rain for an hour, at his suggestion, waiting for the second performance. Of course the replies of the soldiers were unprintable.

That seems like a petty incident, doesn't it? Unfortunately, it isn't. It is little things like this that determine the opinion soldiers have of the Y. M. C. A. Not because the doughboy either likes to, or actually does form opinions without sufficient data. His judgment follows not isolated instances, but related sequences of happenings.

I might go on indefinitely. With few exceptions, wherever our ambulance men have had dealings with the "Y" they have been met with misunderstanding, lack of sympathy and high prices. They have bought cigarettes at Army Sales Commissaries cheaper in price. They have been met with hackneyed phrases about "making expenses" when they wanted to know the wherefore. The Y. M. C. A. directors seem to have forgotten that some former business men are "doughboys," and that a few cents a box, on cigarettes, while it may represent only a few cents, is just as valuable a modicum, for all that, to the soldier as to the "Y" management. If the "Y" cannot sell supplies at prices that do not differ from Army Sales Commissary prices, with all their donations, then they ought to have quit the attempt long ago.

The unanimous derision that greeted the quotation cited earlier in this letter, had, then, a basis and a justification. Reduced to a single indictment, the soldier's chief grudge against the "Y" is due to the lack of imaginative sympathy which "Y" men seem everywhere to suffer. Here are clergymen, business men, professional men of all sorts and with a vast variety of talents which seem to have been smitten dumb by the fact of association with the Y. M. C. A. "Without the Y. M. C. A. we could not win the war." Is it any wonder that this bald absurdity should have drawn jeers, just as the latter part of the quotation—which intimates that the morality of the American manhood in the A. E. F. would have been on the way to a lee shore but for the "Y"—drew hot wrath?

The spirit of the organization is at fault. It may be lofty, it may represent nobility and vast self-sacrifice and abnegation to its enrollment here. But, to the soldier who has had to do with it at the front and in the immediate rear, it has persistently represented condescension and lack of understanding. Its directors seem to have forgotten, also, that the men in the army too have made sacrifices, that all men have been under the compulsion of making sacrifices, and are so still, and that wisdom, intelligence, education, Christian living, hopes and dreams are a part of the lives of the men in the A. E. F. as well as the Y. M. C. A. The A. E. F. is not and never has been a horde of savage barbarians in need of missionaries. The doughboy is a highly critical animal, whether he handles a rifle or ammunition stores, whether he drives an ambulance, or drops 26 shells a minute into the breech of a "75." He resents aloofness and superiority, for he knows that no one is making more of a sacrifice than he. And when he picks up a magazine and reads the sugared phrases that are being promulgated about the Y. M. C. A., he turns over in wrath. It is not jealousy. The war is too big for such a sentiment. He has no sectarian axe to grind. He is the readiest man on earth to recognize and appreciate kindness, and service and camaraderie. He has, also, a keen perception of cant and hypocrisy and pious phrases. And he is beginning to wonder, in the light of his experience, what the powers that be in the Y. M. C. A. mean by "making expenses," and whether they may not refer to him, and whether, after all, such an elaborate propaganda of romantic nonsense and untruth is really necessary, that he return home a "useful citizen."

JAMES H. POWERS, *Sergeant.*

CORRESPONDENCE

Roosevelt and Tutuila

SIR: It is due to Mr. Roosevelt that the little story which follows should be given to the public, and at present I am the only person who can do this.

The three Islands of Samoa were held for a period of years under the joint protectorates of Great Britain, Germany and the United States. The general result was unsatisfactory, a condition due mainly to the petty intrigues of German agents. In Stevenson's words: "There was a fresh conspiracy every day," and a good account of this situation has been given in Stevenson's essay—A Foot-Note to History.

At last England exchanged her rights in the Islands for certain advantages elsewhere, and the Islands themselves were divided, Ipolu, the centre of population, and Savaii, the largest of the Islands, going to Germany, while Tutuila with its magnificent harbor, Pago Pago, with the little Island of Manua, went to the United States. Mr. Elliott, one of the British Commission of Adjustment, said to me (in substance): "We have not settled this affair in a way which Stevenson would have liked. But I don't see why Englishmen living in out-of-the-way places should meddle with international affairs."

But the people of Tutuila were much pleased with the new arrangement, and the chieftains Mauga and Paa Vei made an elaborate document formally deeding the sovereignty of their Island to the United States. In the etiquette

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of the South Seas to receive a present without acknowledgement is a most flagrant insult, and the chieftains of Tutuila saw the United States occupy their Island, fit up its docks and residences without any acknowledgment whatever of the gift by which the nation acquired that right.

When I was in Samoa in 1902, I found the people very much worked up over this matter, while Tuamanua, chief of the little out-lying Island of Manua, was in a condition which if the scale were large enough, would be called open rebellion. I went before the little Congress and explained to the people that the United States did not wish to take away any of their rights. It had paid for the land, the docks and for all the service it had required. It had, moreover, through the Governor, Captain (later Admiral) Uriel Sebree, taken great pains to safeguard the interests of the people in their relations to dealers in copra—the dried meat of the cocoanut which is the principal export of that region. I also called their attention to the fact that the President had sent Professor Vernon Kellogg and myself to study the fisheries of the Islands to find out all the kinds and what they were good for, in the interests of the people. I had myself furnished them with a series of paintings of fishes which were poisonous, some species having a substance analogous to strychnine in their tissues—which would produce the dangerous and often fatal disease known as Ciguatera. Besides all this there were two other dangerous diseases, Dengue and Elephantiasis, produced by minute animal organizations carried by mosquitoes. Professor Kellogg had shown how to get rid of this mosquito and thus how to prevent the two most dreaded plagues of the Islands. We called to their minds the sad fact that just about the time at which their deed of gift was received at Washington, the President of the United States had been assassinated by an insane ruffian. It was probable that in the confusion which followed, the deed had been misplaced and so the incoming President, always thoughtful about such matters, had probably never seen it. I would call the matter to his attention, and I felt sure that the most courteous response would be made.

This kept the people quiet for the time, and expectant as to the future.

I sent a statement of the facts to the President, and soon after left the Island; but I saw in the press in the fall of 1902 an item that President Roosevelt had sent a gold watch to each of the chieftains and a new flag to the little police corps or "Fitafitas," and that in Pago Pago they had a real "red-letter day of rejoicing."

It seemed that the deed of gift was found in Washington filed under the head of "Docks," Pago Pago being merely the wharf of the Naval Station from the official point of view. Nothing had been done about it for the dread of precedent. At the same time when we were receiving Tutuila as a gift through a deal with Germany and England of which these people knew nothing, we were obtaining the sovereignty of the Philippines through war and through purchase, the people being in no wise consulted, and being positively opposed to coming under American control. This point was emphasized by advisers of McKinley. Mr. Roosevelt characteristically did not care a straw about it; a matter of precedent did not affect him in the least, and he did what a warm-blooded, enthusiastic man would do. He made it right with the people.

When I gave Mr. Roosevelt the details of the affair at Washington, he made this simple remark:

"It always pays, Dr. Jordan, for a nation to be a gentleman."

DAVID STARR JORDAN.

Stanford University, California.

The Greeks—Wanting Gifts

SIR: Two Associated Press telegrams from Paris, dated January 14th and 15th, respectively, report that Venizelos, the Greek Premier, has laid before the Peace Conference a memorandum, setting forth the claims of Greece in the settlement of the war. In an interview with President Wilson, Venizelos presented, we are told, arguments in support of these claims.

In regard to Greek claims for parts of vilayets or provinces in Asia Minor, Venizelos is reported to have stated that these parts have a population of 1,188,000 Greeks according to Turkish statistics. N. G. Kyriakides, the representative and spokesman in this country of the so-called "unredeemed" Greeks, has repeatedly stated in the press that in Asia Minor there were about 2,300,000 Greeks, while John N. Metaxa, "Diplomatic Envoy of Greece on Special Mission" to this country, in an address to the Harvard University Club in Boston on December 20th, 1918, declared that the total Greek population of Asia Minor was 1,617,000. Which of these three estimates advanced by three prominent Greeks—Venizelos, Kyriakides and Metaxa—is true is a puzzle; but the discrepancies between the three are certainly very striking. The most curious thing about the figures 1,188,000 cited by Venizelos is that they correspond almost exactly with the figures 1,188,-094 given by A. Synvet in his French work The Greeks of the Ottoman Empire, a statistical and ethnographic study, published at Constantinople in 1878. Synvet, former president of the Turkish Imperial Lyceum or College at Constantinople, compiled, as he tells us in the introduction to his work, his statistics from official Turkish sources and, chiefly, from data supplied to him by the Greek Patriarchate, Greek bishops and Greek *Syllogoi* or literary and scientific societies. If, again, the statistics of Venizelos and Synvet are true, we have the astounding fact that the Greek population of Asia Minor, during the last forty years, has not increased at all, but has decreased only by 94 souls!

Venizelos is reported to have stated in his memorandum that the natural solution of the question about Constantinople would be to award the city to Greece. This claim he supports by the assertion "that the principal native element of the population of Constantinople is Greek, being numerically greater than all the other nationalities put together except the Turks." The author of the article on Constantinople in the Encyclopaedia Britannica (XIth editon, 1910), Alexander van Millingen, late former professor of history in Robert College of Constantinople and a recognized authority on the city and its history, gives 873,565 as the total population, distributed as follows: Turks, 384,910; Greeks, 153,823; Armenians, 156,851; Jews, 44,361; Bulgarians, 4,377; foreigners, 129,243. Professor Millingen's figures are probably correct, for he lived almost all his life in Constantinople, had a thorough knowledge of the city, the people and their languages. His data were derived not only from Turkish official sources, but also from the religious heads of the Greek, Armenian and other communities. One is, therefore, quite justified in rejecting as not proven the assertion that the Greek element in Constantinople is "numerically greater than all the other nationalities put together except the Turks."

Greece asks also Thrace, which, according to the Venizelos memorandum, "is peopled largely by Greeks." As no statistics of Thrace are reported cited in the memorandum, the figures presented by Venizelos are not known;

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

but from what has been published in the press here, one is in a position to gauge the accuracy of the Greek statistics about Thrace. Last summer, when N. G. Kyriakides started his campaign for the redemption of the "unredeemed" Greeks, he declared that there were 2,000,000 Greeks in Thrace. In later statements he has repeatedly asserted that they number 800,000; while Mr. Roussos, the Greek Minister to this country, estimates them to be 700,000 (see Christian Science Monitor, November 4th, 1918). Mr. Metaxa in his address in Boston said that in the vilayet of Adrianople, which is practically Thrace, there were 267,675 Greeks! Here again we meet with wide discrepancies in the estimates of three Greeks, two of whom are high Greek officials.

According to official Turkish statistics for the year 1918, supplemented and corrected by private research, the total population of the Adrianople vilayet amounts to 997,482. The chief elements of which this total is composed are the following: Turks, 475,981 (of whom 120,000 are Pomaks or Mohammedan Bulgarians whose vernacular is Bulgarian); Greeks about 254,000 and Bulgarians about 213,000, in round numbers. The rest includes Armenians, Jews, etc. The Greeks inhabit principally the towns and the sea-coast, and are found in compact masses in the sandjaks (districts) of Gallipoli, Rodosto and Dedeagatch, and in the cazas (counties) of Akhtopol (Greek Agathopolis), Viza and Midia. The Bulgarians, who form the farming population, dwell compactly in the sandjaks of Adrianople, Kirk-Klisseh, Dedeagatch and Gumumdjina. In the other parts of the province they are mixed more or less with other nationalities, especially Turks. The contention of Venizelos that Thrace "is peopled largely by Greeks," or that under an alleged Bulgaro-Greek agreement of 1912 "the interests of Greece in Thrace were fixed at six times those of Bulgaria," should be received with the greatest caution.

Venizelos acknowledges that an extension of the Greek frontier in Thrace will involve a withdrawal of Bulgaria from the Aegean Sea, which she reached by virtue of the Treaty of Bucharest after the Balkan War. He also admits that Bulgaria, being preeminently a continental state, her defense does not call for naval strength; but, he argues, "if she retains her Aegean coast she might utilize it for establishing a submarine base, which would enable her to upset for her own benefit the equilibrium of force between herself and Greece"!

The argument is one that contains more sophistry than truth or sense. To imagine that a nation, consisting principally of farmers and landsmen, could ever develop, in submarines or any other implements of sea warfare, naval strength enough to menace a sea-faring people like the Greeks is preposterous. During her forty years of existence as a state, Bulgaria, which owns a coast line of 344 kilometers or 229 miles on the Black Sea, has not a single warship worthy of the name. Besides a couple of cutters, the only ship that Bulgaria has to defend this coast is an old small training armored cruiser, built in 1898, which would tempt Providence were it to venture at sea in a moderately strong gale. On the Danube there are seven or eight small wooden vessels, which, already old, were donated to Bulgaria by Russia in 1878. The whole naval complement of Bulgaria in 1912 consisted of 42 officers and 879 sailors. It is simply absurd to argue that a country of so little naval capacity and aptitude could ever in any way prove a dangerous rival to Greece on the sea.

EOTHEN.

What Were They Sentenced For?

SIR: In your excellent editorial, The Foes of American Unity, in the November 9, 1918 issue, you should add yourselves as one of those foes, as disclosed in this same editorial. For you spread untrue and misleading propaganda against American unity. I refer to your statement that "The Courts have sentenced men and women to prison for ten or twenty years, not for obstructing the law in any way or for advising other people to obstruct the law, but for expressing opinions which might conceivably (sic!) impair the moral authority of an essential national enterprise in the minds of the American people." You then add that the post office department has suppressed or threatened to suppress publications "whose editorial policy (sic!) in the opinion of post office officials tended to interfere with the confidence felt by public opinion in the government as the agent of a great common political purpose." Both of these statements are untrue; and it would have taken very little thought on the part of the writer of the editorial to have ascertained their untruth. In the first place, you cannot name *one* instance where a judge sentenced a person solely for "expressing opinions which might *conceivably* impair the moral authority of an essential national enterprise." No judge ever sentenced a person on an indictment charging the commission of such an offense; for no statute makes it an offense. No judge ever charged a jury to convict upon such a state of facts. Under section 3 of the Espionage act as originally passed—for it is sentences under this law that you undoubtedly have in mind—the defendant must do at least one of three acts, each one requiring a specific intent; he must either (1) wilfully make or convey a false statement or report with intent to interfere with the operation or success of the military forces, or (2) wilfully cause or attempt to cause insubordination, etc., in the military forces, or (3) wilfully obstruct the recruiting or enlistment service. The *means* adopted by the defendant to do the act prohibited are immaterial and rightly so. One may cause insubordination in the military forces by drugging a soldier or by telling him to disobey his superior officer, or by circulating propaganda calculated to make him disobey, provided in each case the offender has the specific intent to cause disobedience. Certainly a person should be held responsible for his intended act whether the means used are physical, or spoken or written words, whether or not in the *form* of an opinion. If A says to B: "I believe X should be poisoned," knowing and intending that B should poison X, and B by reason of those words, poisons X, A should be held responsible. The erroneous conclusion in the sentences above quoted results from your taking *one circumstance,* in the evidence of a case, in the charge of the Court, or in the argument of counsel (possibly because such circumstance happened to be published), and giving that circumstance as the sole basis of conviction and sentence. But the verdict is an ultimate fact proved by numerous circumstances, and sentence results therefrom. It is because you have circulated what is essentially untrue as an ultimate fact, that I think the correction should be made, in order not, thereby, to make "other" foes to American unity.

ROBERT P. STEPHENSON.

New York City.

The Best at Present

SIR: Don't you think that Mr. Taft is the best ex-President this country ever had?

EMANUEL HALDEMAN-JULIUS.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Mr. Bennett in London

The Roll-Call, by Arnold Bennett. New York: G. H. Doran Co. $1.50.

A PROFOUND inferiority seems to infect this novel by Arnold Bennett—inferiority, that is to say, to his own finer creations. It is not less skillful than the Clayhanger series. On the whole it is near the head of his list for knowing craftsmanship. Nor is its subject-matter less significant. Mr. Bennett's triumph so far has always been to reveal significance in the supposedly dull and mean-spirited bourgeoisie; and George Edwin Cannon, his new preoccupation, is bourgeois to the bone. The inferiority, if such it is, springs from a lack of serious insight into the London variety of that middle-class life about which the earlier Mr. Bennett was so inspired. The London variety is piquant and exciting to Mr. Bennett but it is not second-nature to him to write about it—and Mr. Bennett has the kind of emotional slowness that needs immense security before it can expand. The Roll-Call, it need hardly be said, is inescapably interesting. It is sharply colored in detail and adroitly plotted out as a whole. But for all its distinction, for all its flashiness and appositeness, it is meagre in just those psychological and emotional certitudes that Mr. Bennett's preoccupation with the bourgeoisie leads one to expect.

The Roll-Call really marks Mr. Bennett's conquest by London. Loudly as he once boasted that he'd show up the provincialism of the great city, he has ended by succumbing to its power and actually acquiring its most vulgar point of view. The big northern municipalities survive for him. They continually heave their bulk above the horizon of the Roll-Call, panting with energy and prosperity. But they are no longer seen as the centre of a vital tradition, they are seen as the raw material for George Edwin Cannon's architectural adventure. He is to carve his career out of them in the form of gigantesque town halls. It is in this mood of the unscrutinized ambitious, the ambitious mounting on the shoulders of London, that Mr. Bennett interprets the capital. No longer, as he once thought, is London the sophisticated and pretentious and worldly elder brother of the strong, gruff, kindly northern towns. It is instead a subtle and sinewy master of all the arts and purposes to which humanity is heir. It is, indeed, worldly, but it is impregnable in the very civilization to which its contemporaries aspire. When Hilda and Alderman Edwin Clayhanger come to town they come as definite outsiders. They are estimable human beings but, Mr. Bennett confesses it, they are jay.

This shift in emphasis brings into high relief the most difficult of all social themes, metropolitan specialization and metropolitan concentration on success. Mr. Bennett had no longer on his hands a homogeneous group to be carefully and patiently evaluated. He is no longer writing out of deep-dyed intimacies and warm associations. The person on his hands is an ambitious solitary youth, Hilda Lessway's son come up to town, and that youth is the creature of a large and strenuous game which subordinates personal relations and restricts personal emotions and enslaves every adherent but the heroic. It is this specialization that handicaps Mr. Bennett.

He succeeds in placing George Edwin Cannon as the egoistic apprentice and later the rising public architect of his time. He also successfully includes with that portrait the evolution of the provincial into a smart and successful Londoner, father of three expensive children and husband of an expensive modern London wife. In addition to this compact portraiture he brilliantly depicts for his metropolitan reader the new bourgeois London in which such a youth disports himself—the bachelor club, the ostentatious restaurant, the box at a musical comedy, the motor. And he precedes this with the grub stage of the youth—his Chelsea rooming house, the popular concert, the evening party of beer and brawn, the Thames excursion boat. This diversified life, tipped in with a most accomplished hand, is rounded up by the coming of war in 1914 and Mr. Bennett completes the audacity of exhibiting the minutiae of an architect's office by closely detailing the experiences of the architect as a green lieutenant in the royal artillery during the training period prior to France. But the emotional and psychological values of this experience—Mr. Bennett repeatedly fails to focus them. Seen critically and perceptively, the career of metropolitan specialization is not an end in itself. It is merely a variation on the provincial life and the man who wins in it without observing the democratic obligations natural to the Five Towns gets nowhere in particular in the end. But the emphatic vulgarity in every turn and twist of George Cannon's advancement does not arrest Mr. Bennett. He accepts the "career" at its face value. He is content with the exciting chase into which the youth is plunged.

Mr. Bennett does a great deal to whoop up that chase. By leaving out Cannon's self-interrogation, and by making as vivid and tense as possible each one of his selected experiences, an effect of speed and vim is created which goes far to suggest reality. Then the chase itself, the pursuit of the great architectural prize offered by a northern municipality, keeps the reader alert and interested in the youth's success.

Mr. Bennett lays his colors on thick. Cannon meets Marguerite and at once phrases it as "a vast romantic adventure, staggering and enchanting." Later the girl becomes to him "a cushion. The divinest down cushion! That was what she was. She was more. She defended a man against himself. She restored him to perfection. Her affectionate faith was a magical inspiration to him; it was, really, the greatest force in the world." The terrific, the stupendous, the mighty, the exquisite and the prodigious bang against each other on Mr. Bennett's pages and stupefy the reader like noise. "The exquisite activity of creating town-halls for mighty municipalities" becomes pure reverberation after the phrase: "A manservant entered with a priceless collection of bon-bons." But this hyperbole, which seeks to hide Mr. Bennett's deficiency in feeling, does not destroy the competent history of Cannon's effort to win the great competition, and his marital capture by the sophisticated Lois who incited him to compete.

The genuine feeling in The Roll-Call is not inspired by people at all. Mr. Bennett gives something of his beloved Alice Challice to Marguerite and something of the hero of Buried Alive to the man who marries her. (Marguerite is "the down cushion" discarded by young Cannon). Aboundingly salient are the portraits of Mr. Enwright, the brilliant hypochondriac architect, and of Mr. Haim, the acrid father of Marguerite, who marries the charwoman and who regains his daughter by losing his wife. But more than a perception of salience, genuine absorption, is needed to permeate a creation with beauty, and the chief beauty in The Roll-Call is in the descriptive etchings that enrich the book. "Mr. Haim exhibited first the kitchen. George saw a morsel of red amber behind black bars, a white deal table and a black cat crouched on a corner of the table, a chair and a tea-cloth drying over the back thereof."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"Although the day was Saturday there was no stir on Chelsea Pier. The pier-keeper, indeed, was alone on the pier, which rose high on the urgent flood tide, so that the gangway to it sloped unusually upwards. No steamer was in sight, and it seemed impossible that any steamer should ever call at that forlorn and decrepit platform that trembled under the straining of the water. Nevertheless, a steamer did after a little while appear round the bend, in Battersea Reach, drooped its funnel, aimed its sharp nose at an arch of Battersea Bridge, and finally, poising itself against the strong stream, bumped very gently and neatly into contact with the pier. The pier-keeper went through all the classic motions of mooring, unbarring, barring, and casting off, and in a few seconds the throbbing steamer, which was named with the name of a great Londoner, left the pier again with George and Marguerite on board. Nobody had disembarked." Such descriptions, perfectly unforced and beautifully possessed, are found at every turn throughout The Roll-Call. They give witness to Mr. Bennett's living joy in his art.

But they do not redeem The Roll-Call's singularly charmless and inadequate sense of life. What, after all, is George Edwin Cannon like? Mr. Bennett may triumphantly say, like "life." But indeed he is like life patronized and averaged and flattened, life bluntly and coldly perceived. Mr. Bennett's enquiry is conducted with a sharp headlight up to the point where Cannon begins to be differentiated. Beyond that point Cannon is imperceptible and impalpable. He wants to stand at the head of his profession. He has ambition. He is susceptible to persons of the opposite sex. He conceives of them as vaguely "mysterious" and in some way ineluctable, though he is grimly satisfied when on "crucial" occasions he prevails over his wife.

But so far as Marguerite is concerned or his colleagues or his friends, he is without rapport or imaginative experience. Beyond his architecture and his career the world is a place in which to be amused and keep fit and pay his wife's bills. When the war comes, indeed, he declines to take the tip of Sir Isaac Davids. Sir Isaac Davids's "realism," uttered in a "thick, rich voice," leaves him unconvinced. "Damn it," he asks himself after a sleepless night, "Am I an Englishman or am I not?" Being the son of George Cannon, the answer is, not quite an Englishman. But Mr. Bennett forgets his hero's ancestry. "Like most Englishmen," murmurs Mr. Bennett, "he was much more an Englishman than he ever suspected." He was also much more a tribal animal. Even in this crisis, his feelings have no marked personal accent. He enlists and stands up to his destiny, but he is still the imperfectly differentiated successful man.

The enlistment, to tell the truth, is a novelistic alibi. It is an escape from dealing candidly and fully with the impoverished existence of this London philistine. Beyond his career as an architect there is his career as a man and this Mr. Bennett leaves like a statue still in the mud. What special definition of Cannon should the reader ask for, outside the establishment of an average that Mr. Bennett may be believed to aim at amusedly? Only a clear definition of that average's spiritual inadequacy. To represent the complacent average without marking this failure is to leave the representation superficial. Such superficiality was not to be found in Mr. Bennett's human estimates of the Five Towns. It is to be found in the bright sterility of these estimates made in the glaring lights of London.

F. H.

The New State

The New State, by M. P. Follett. New York: Longmans, Green & Co. $3.

THE theory of representative government that was formulated by the nineteenth century has been found inadequate by a host of writers during the last generation; and the student of political philosophy can already find a fairly substantial literature in which the criticism of its outlines have been suggested. No one, however, has yet translated the burden of that criticism into popular terms. Maitland, Gierke, Figgis, Duguit, write, after all, for a limited number of specialists; and they are largely dependent upon others for the dispersion of their ideas. It is this task that Miss Follett has attempted, and there can be no question but that her book is a stimulating one. It suffers, indeed, from being written in a hideous journalese that deprives it of no small part of its effectiveness. It is at times confused upon the theory involved in the practical facts at issue. It has a somewhat jejune habit of making large assumptions as to the results of ethical and psychological inquiry. It will not assist a specialist anxious for discussion upon the comparative merits of the new ideas. But for the general reader who is aware of a debate, and anxious for information as to its subject, Miss Follett's is, on the whole, the best book as yet to be had. It is at least decisively clear as to the large outlines of its subject, even if it lacks a meticulous accuracy of thought.

Miss Follett's point broadly is that the new state must take account of the communities within itself. It must regard itself as their integration; and its will must be the fused expression of the best intelligence of which they are capable. In that aspect, as she thinks, a solution can be found for the insoluble problem of the individual versus the the state. She denies the existence of rights, in the sense that my private conscience must proceed to the extremity of self-assertion. My liberty is to consist in making myself one with the community. But, obviously, such oneness is impossible granted the scale of modern life. Miss Follett therefore goes back to the idea of neighborhood and urges that I am to find myself in my local group and use it as the means to the more universal expression of state-action. She depicts with no light skill the influence that can be obtained by such individual action over an audience sufficiently small to be directly interested. The state, for her, becomes the medieval community of communities in which each group that lives a special life of its own is given opportunity for the active exercise of its personality. The inference, I take it, is that this is the rightful limit of self-assertiveness.

Undoubtedly, there is much of force in such a plea. A state in which each single dissent implied a revolution could hardly hope long to survive. Undoubtedly, also, Miss Follett is right in her insistence upon the significance of neighborhood. But the roots of the problem go deeper, I think, than she has seen. The duty of the individual is the contribution of his best personality to the state. By rights, therefore, we mean the system of conditions which are at any moment necessary to secure the expression of such personality. Miss Follett would probably admit that every conflict between an individual and the state is, at bottom, a conflict between an individual and the government. That is a very different matter from opposition to the state, for the simple reason that government is largely founded upon the inertia of men. Miss Follett's implied warning that our denial of the sovereignty of the state must not result

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the erection of the sovereignty of the individual has real erit; but it is ethically unsatisfactory insofar as it does ot admit that my duty to the state is to do right as I see and, if need be, pay the penalty. The restriction of oppotion to constitutional means is not at the present stage f education a possible demand. The very scale of social fe demands a challenge more dramatic than mere criticism an make. That is why men like Huss and Luther have the ecial significance they possess. We, doubtless, are not ie universe; but we must beware lest we be absorbed by it. hat is, in fact, the subtlest form of self-indulgence.

There is a further difficulty in Miss Follett's attitude. he rightly emphasizes the way in which social groups ill fight the state and thus differentiate themselves from ; but she is still in the stage where the state, for her, is ie supreme representative of the community. It is at least ar from clear whether that is the case. The state acts by gents and servants; those agents and servants are mortal, nd, therefore, fallible men. The question whether the ate, or any other group, is to be regarded as in that fashion upreme, is a question about which no general predictions an be made. Our judgment here must vary with each articular situation as it arises. The government, for inance, of James II., which endeavors to force Catholicism pon a people passionately Protestant cannot be regarded s supremely representative of anything except itself. A int of anarchy, in fact, is here, as elsewhere, the condition f progress. And it may be remarked that this, too, leads s back to individualism. Everyone can see that a man ho has become a socialist ought to resign from the Union eague Club. He has become separated from its essential ersonality by his new conviction. From the state, of course, e cannot resign; it is the one compulsory form of associaion. But unless we retain our right of protest, and of rotest in such fashion as to satisfy our conscience, the tate is left as more terrible even than the ancient Church.

Political pluralism implies, therefore, as Miss Follett ees, a new form of individualism; but I do not think it in ny way escapes the old dilemma. For there are in each oul certain recesses where no other can penetrate; and here effort is made to close them up it is inevitable and ight that there should be conflict. The political system or which Miss Follett stands sponsor would mitigate, ithout doubt, the degree of dissatisfaction that exists; it rovides a field where each member of the state can count t least for something. But political organization, even ith the ample means for discussion that Miss Follett proides, is not a universal solvent. The root of the whole atter lies in the field of economics and it is upon this that oncentration must be made. Democracy may not be idenical with liberty, as Miss Follett warns us; but it is certainly impossible of achievement without liberty and it is in ie economic field that liberty is today most vitally needed. It not, either, adequate to dismiss majority-rule as inadequate ompared to the general will; for, in the first place, majority-rule has never had full opportunity of trial and, in ie second, no criteria exist by which the presence of a eneral will can be detected. The will of a group ought ot to be transformed into a mystical transcendent of the ills of its several members; it is surely better to admit iat at bottom we are dealing with wills each one of which is t bottom unique but coalesce in the common object after hich they strive and the unified activity engendered by iat common object. I am not likely to belittle the splendor f the contribution made by Rousseau to political thought; ut he was the parent of hydra-headed confusion when he ave birth to the general will. For thereby he threw us back on the fatal problem of universals; and it is perhaps the first duty of the political philosopher to evade that issue as long as he can.

Criticism implies respect; and I think every student of politics has cause to be grateful to Miss Follett for her synthesis. What is greatly to be wished is that she would refuse to take the state and its current terminology upon their accepted terms and that she would examine how far its every act is not the apotheosis of the desires of its dominant class. There would be no cause materially to alter the form of political organization for which she stands sponsor; but its emphasis and its relations would be significantly different. No theory of the state can today be adequate which does not realize the vital fact that labor has sought to control the means of power. There is no corner or political theory that is not illuminated by that demand.

H. J. L.

TIFFANY & CO.

JEWELRY SILVERWARE WATCHES CLOCKS
BRONZES CHINA GLASS STATIONERY

DISTINCTIVE MERIT

THE MAIL SERVICE GIVES PROMPT ATTENTION

FIFTH AVENUE & 37TH STREET
NEW YORK

Can Such Things Be?

Shaking Hands With England, by Charles Hanson Towne. New York: G. H. Doran Co. $1.00.

THIS book has a rare degree of silliness. It has serious things to talk about and it talks about them with a gushing giddiness seldom revealed outside high school. Mr. Towne was an officially-conducted American editor. He crossed the ocean with the doughboys, he saw moonlight on the ocean in company with prairie Americans; he had glimpses of wounded officers in London restaurants, and of English factory girls at work; he saw the Fleet, and France. And he writes of his experience with the kind of

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"A Wonderful Bargain!—I'm Delighted!"

and that's what you'll say, too, when you see

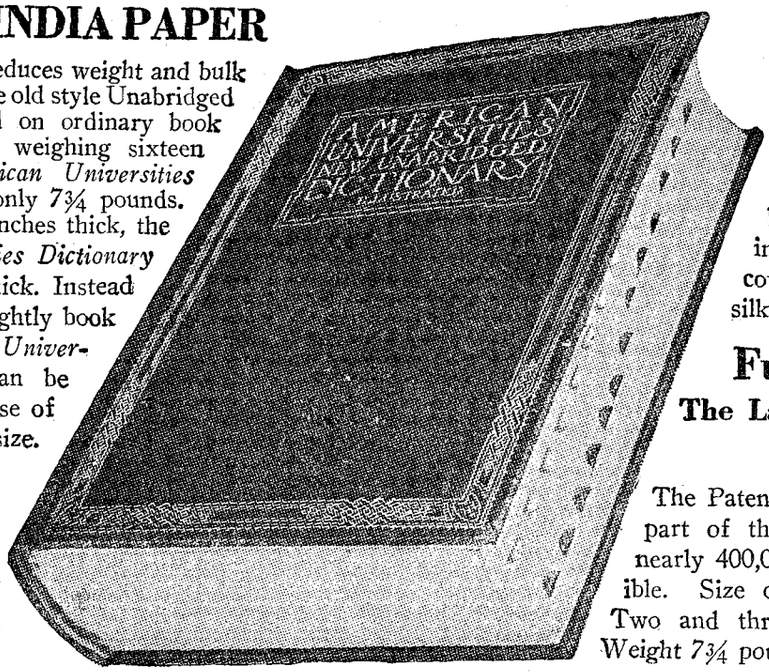
THE AMERICAN UNIVERSITIES NEW UNABRIDGED DICTIONARY

The Latest and Most Complete

Contributing Staff from the Leading American Universities—Harvard, Princeton, Columbi Pennsylvania, Cornell—Assisted by Specialists from All Parts of the World

Printed on INDIA PAPER

which enormously reduces weight and bulk as compared with the old style Unabridged Dictionaries printed on ordinary book paper. Instead of weighing sixteen pounds, the *American Universities Dictionary* weighs only 7¾ pounds. Instead of being 6 inches thick, the *American Universities Dictionary* is only 2¾ inches thick. Instead of requiring an unsightly book stand, the *American Universities Dictionary* can be handled with the ease of a book of ordinary size.



There are nearly 2500 pages in this big volume. 16 Full-Page Colored Plates form an interesting feature, besides numerous Illustrations in the text.

Bound in FULL MOROCCO

with beautiful Greci border design and letteri in gold. Specially reinforc covers, with spring back a silk head and tail bands.

Full Gold Edge

The Last Word in Elegan and Durability

The Patent Thumb Index makes a part of the complete vocabulary nearly 400,000 words instantly acces ible. Size of volume 11⅜x9 inche Two and three quarters inches thic Weight 7¾ pounds.

DISTINCTIVE ENCYCLOPEDIC AND EDUCATIONAL FEATURES

In addition to a complete vocabulary of upwards of 400,000 words, pronounced and defined, which comprise all the new words fresh from t laboratories of science, coined by the needs of the Great World War, brought into being by the literary masters of the English language, lifted from the slang of the street into a speech recognized finally by the great scholars of the world. The American Universities New U abridged Dictionary contains the following encyclopedic departments.

A Dictionary of Authors and their principal works.
A Dictionary of noted names in standard fiction, *mythology, legend.*
A Pronouncing Gazetteer of the World.
A Dictionary of foreign words, phrases, noteworthy sayings, used in current literature.
A Pronouncing Dictionary of Scripture proper names and their location in the Bible.
A Pronouncing Dictionary of Biography.
A Pronouncing Dictionary of Greek and Latin proper names.
Practical syntax or simplified grammar.
Faulty diction, or errors in English speech and writing and how to correct them.
Rules of punctuation.
One thousand questions answered with the aid of The American Universities Dictionary, illustrating the use of the Dictionary as an Encyclopedia.

THE PRINCIPAL COMMERCIAL AND F NANCIAL TERMS IN CURRENT USE EIGHT LANGUAGES—ENGLISH, SPA ISH, PORTUGUESE, ITALIAN, FRENC RUSSIAN, DUTCH, GERMAN. The val of this vocabulary of equivalents of Engl business terms in the leading Continental l guages will be instantly recognized by eve wide-awake business man.

THESE ENCYCLOPEDIC AND EDUCATIONAL FEATURES, in addition to the complete list of upwards of 400,000 words, and all—b old and *new words*—in their proper order in *one vocabulary*, make this new volume, with its imposing staff of American University contributo the most authentic, comprehensive, and convenient work of general reference of modern times.

DON'T STOP GROWING

Wouldn't it have been a serious handicap to you if you had stopped growing physically when you were sixteen?

How many words have you added to your vocabulary since you left school? How much have you grown in *your command of language?*

Are you still laboring under the delusion that a *small abridged* dictionary answers all your growing language needs?

You would resent the intimation that you had *stopped growing in intelligence.* Yet the vocabulary of a man or woman is a *direct indication of* his or her intelligence. The man or woman who knows the English language thoroughly and accurately holds the key that unlocks the golden opportunities of life. Discard the little desk dictionary, and the old out-of-date, ponderous unabridged that served your needs as a child, and order before it is too late the growing "grown-up's"—the latest and the best—*The American Universities New Unabridged Dictionary,* printed on India paper.

A FINAL WORD

It is not a real home if it lacks a new, up-to-date Unabridged Dictionary. Every enlightened head of a household realizes this and cherishes the hope *some day* of adding so essential a book to the home possessions.

Make *"some day"* TO-DAY by mailing coupon at once.

NEVER AGAIN SUCH A BARGAIN

The original publishers of **The American Universities New Unabridged Dictionary** were unable to fulfil their contract with the printe and binders, so believing that the small part of the edition that h been completed and delivered would be rapidly taken up by reade of the **New Republic,** we have entered into an arrangement that mak it possible, while the copies last, to offer the volume at HALF TH PUBLISHERS' PRICE, which was $27.00.

OUR PRICE TO NEW REPUBLIC READERS ONLY $13.50

and Instalment Terms, if desired. Or $12.50 with coupon if you want to s the cash discount.

Bear in mind that the selling price of the publishers of this volume, $27.00, is less by several dollars than the present price of the only two other standard dictionaries that will compare with the American Universities Dictionary in any of the features that distinguish the latter.

BRUNSWICK SUBSCRIPTION CO. N.R. 2-8
418 Brunswick Building, New York City

Enclosed is $1.00, first payment on *Ameri Universities Dictionary,* to be shipped char prepaid. I agree to remit the full special pr $13.50; at the rate of $1.00 per month follow receipt of book. Otherwise I will within days ask for instructions for its return, at y expense, my $1.00 to be refunded on its rece

Name.....
Address.....
Occupation.....*State*.....

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

palpitation that editors usually put into italics at the head of contributed articles. "How swiftly the world is moving, and how glorious it is to be living while such history is being made and written!" So blurbs Mr. Towne. On the same page he pours forth his soul on the rapture it is to breathe the same air (in Manchester) as Lloyd George. "Like a refrain in a Rossetti ballad, 'Lloyd George is here! Lloyd George is here!' kept singing in my foolish head. But of course he never knew. Why should he? We met him afterwards, in London, when he was well again; and it seemed strange that this man, so short of stature, could be carrying on his shoulders the burdens of Britain's vast problems." Mr. Towne is more of a goose about Lloyd George than about anything else he finds "thrilling," but his supreme bathos is probably the opening line of his sonnet to France: "How shall one come to France, save on one's knees?"

The Novels of Ferdinand Fabre, by Ray P. Bowen. Boston: Richard G. Badger. $1.25.

WITH a doctor's thesis one can explore the country of a little known author, but in the aridity of reference and counter reference the imagination shrivels. Perhaps it must be so. Perhaps the candidate who climbs to the top of the academic ladder must devitalize his subject by statistics, classifications and summaries to prove his Ph. D. is bitterly earned. All this credit of hard work is due Mr. Bowen. He has done it in a way for which the predestined adjective is "scholarly." Charted and indexed and bibliographed before us lie the Life and Literary Career of Ferdinand Fabre, the Autobiographical Novels, the Novels of Peasant Life and Manners, the Ecclesiastical Novels and the Conclusion. No unlicensed opinion is allowed to upset things. If it is stated that Fabre was "an entertaining and brilliant conversationalist" a little number after "conversationalist" points to the foot-notes where M. Marais stands sponsor for the assertion. In the conclusion, Mr. Bowen hardly ventures away from the guide-ropes long enough to insert Fabre into a pigeon-hole between George Sand and Balzac, as following a middle course between the "optimism" of the one and the "pessimism" of the other. But there is little use in blaming doctors of philosophy for following the immemorial technique of classes in literature. If the flame of understanding is not in them we can only regret its absence and note that the Baedeker method has its own informative value.

Owing to the scarcity of paper, the Index for Volume XVII, which was completed with the last number, has been printed separately. It will be mailed on request, post free, to any subscriber who will send his name and address on a post card directed to the New Republic, 421 West 21st street, New York City.

Contributors

WILLIAM HARD, a frequent contributor to the columns of the New Republic.

ORDWAY TEAD, a lecturer and writer on subjects connected with industrial research and employment administration. Author of Instincts in Industry and The People's Part in Peace.

LEO STEIN, an American who has lived much abroad and who has made a life-study of painting.

FRED B. JOHNSON, a lawyer in civil life, who has been serving during the war as Major in the office of the Judge Advocate General of the War Department at Washington.

Food for Thought

Last year Delineator families ate 19½ tons of California raisins every day. More this year. More every year that the raisin growers keep on advertising. When the advertising started, in 1914, the total California crop of raisins was 98,000 tons, and there was a big carry-over. In 1917 the crop was 163,000 tons and it was sold out six months before the next crop had matured. Are you making known the virtues of *your* product to the vast and prosperous audience that reads

The Delineator

The Magazine In One Million Homes

beyond life

By James Branch Cabell

Price $1.50 Net

"IT is astonishing that he is not better known," says the *New York Sun*, of James Branch Cabell. "'Beyond Life' has a quiet cleverness, an audacious originality that will delight a good many readers. In fact, this mosaic of essays on books and things in general should be sufficient to convince anyone not actually in the mental breadline that here is a thinker worth attention, a writer in bondage to no external ideas, a dreamer who follows after beauty."

"Personally, as I have told everyone who will listen, I think James Branch Cabell can write like a breeze and that he is one of the few fragrant breezes blowing over the aridity of a present-day world of books."—A. L. S. Wood in the *Springfield Union*.

"There is something so intriguingly winning, one might say wooing, about Mr. Cabell's style that even a realist if not entirely desiccated and aesthetically atrophied will find himself yielding to the cunning of his sentences."—*The New York Times*.

"Here is a rich book for thoughtful readers."—*The Boston Herald*.

At All Bookstores

Robert M. McBride & Co. Publishers New York

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

IMPRESSIONS OF THE KAISER

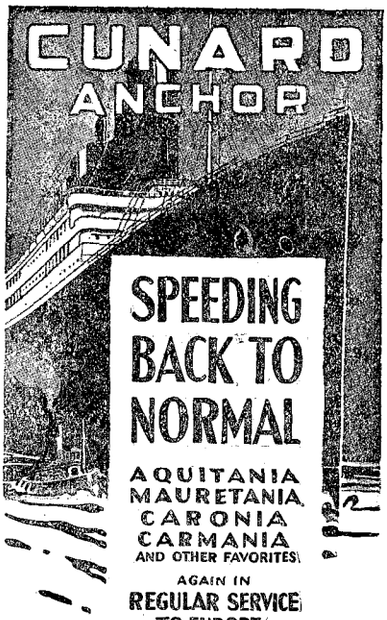
by David Jayne Hill

"THERE is probably no man in the world better qualified to write a serious and important book on the character of the former German Kaiser than Dr. David Jayne Hill. . . The volume is most interesting and important. It must be carefully read and considered to be appreciated at its full value."—*New York Times.*

"DR. HILL is well qualified for his task by virtue of diplomatic experience. . . . He handles the fallen emperor's career in international relations logically, and treats William the man with characteristic reserve."—*Boston Herald.*

Regular 8vo. $2.00

HARPER & BROTHERS
NEW *(Est. 1817)* YORK



SPEEDING BACK TO NORMAL

AQUITANIA
MAURETANIA
CARONIA
CARMANIA
AND OTHER FAVORITES
AGAIN IN
REGULAR SERVICE TO EUROPE
FOR FULL INFORMATION APPLY TO
21-24 STATE STREET NEW YORK
OR BRANCHES AND AGENCIES

Is Man Wiser Than God?

We have found that the best in us can be developed under laws of our own choosing. Has God so much lesser wisdom that he governs the Universe by autocratic laws He has ordained? At a time when autocracies are being banished from temporal affairs, why do we still cling to the medieval belief in an autocratic Deity?

Read this very interesting book

Eternal Progress

by the distinguished thinker and writer, Harold Rowntree, and learn his conclusions regarding the evolution of natural law, and how we today are the creators of the **Future.**

Simply and interestingly written, it will appeal to all thinkers on these subjects.

At all bookstores or direct from publishers $1.50

LAURENCE C. WOODWORTH
517 Sherman St., CHICAGO

Are You Specially Gifted?

"National community leader," is what The New Republic calls you. Whither do you lead, *toward or away from democracy of action by your home town!*

Training for public service for civic leaders, teachers, foremen, the professions, private citizens, the specially gifted, is the subject of *Universal Training for Citizenship and Public Service* (Macmillan—284 pp.) ($1.50 postpaid, 14 chapters)—with 4 page bulletin, Is Democracy in New York Bankrupt?

We want names of home-town live wires

INSTITUTE FOR PUBLIC SERVICE
WILLIAM H. ALLEN, Director
51 Chambers Street, New York City

THE
Society of Friends
(Quakers)

BOOKS at:—
144 East 20th Street, New York; Friends Book Store, Richmond, Ind.

SCHOOLS at:—
Vassalboro, Me.; Union Springs, N. Y.; George School, Pa.; Spiceland, Ind.; Plainfield, Ind.; Vermilion Grove, Ill., and Oskaloosa, Iowa.

COLLEGES at:—
Haverford, Pa.; Guilford College, N. C.; Wilmington, Ohio; Earlham, Ind.; Oskaloosa, Iowa; Wichita, Kan.; Central City, Neb.; Newberg, Ore.; Whittier, Cal.

Information at Mt. Kisco, N. Y.

ABOVE THE BATTLE

By ROMAIN ROLLAND, famous French Socialist, is an eloquent plea for brotherhood among men and co-operation among nations.

Cloth, $1.00

Ask your book dealer for a copy or send direct to

THE OPEN COURT PUBLISHING COMPANY
1001 Peoples Gas Bldg., Chicago

PUBLIC STENOGRAPHER

At your office—At your home—At any time

RATES UNUSUALLY MODERATE

7 East 15th Street
NEW YORK
Stuyvesant 3094

CHRISTIAN SCIENCE
THE CHRISTIAN SCIENTIST, 10c. a copy; dollar a year. 622 Audubon Building, New Orleans, La.

THE plans of the Carnegie Foundation for the compulsory purchase of annuities are of concern to all college and university professors. The publications of the foundation have been freely distributed. The most serious criticisms of its attempt to control higher education in America will be found in the following articles in **SCHOOL AND SOCIETY.**

The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching and the Case of Middlebury College. The late Josiah Royce. January 30, 1915.

Ten Years of the Carnegie Foundation. Joseph Jastrow. October 7, 1916.

Report of the Committee on Pensions of the American Association of University Professors. December 2, 1916.

Life Insurance and Annuities for Academic Teachers. J. McKeen Cattell. November 9, 1918.

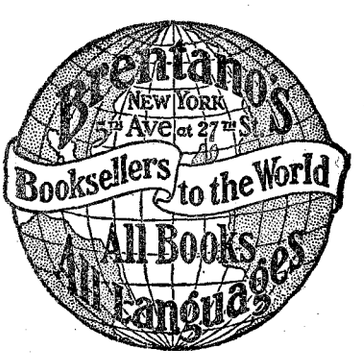
The "Policies" of the Carnegie Company. J. McKeen Cattell. January 4, 1919.

Supplementary Statement concerning the Compulsory and Contributory Annuities proposed by the Carnegie Foundation. Arthur O. Lovejoy and Harlan F. Stone. February, 1919.

Second Report of the Committee on Pensions of the American Association of University Professors. (In Press).

Annual Subscription $3; Single Copies 10 cents

SCHOOL AND SOCIETY
Published every Saturday by
The Science Press
Lancaster, Pa. **Garrison, N. Y.**



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED